THE BOKE NAMED THE Gouernour deuised by syr Thomas Elyot knyght.

LONDINI. An. 1544.


BRITISH MUSEUM

THE PROHEME

OF SYR THOMAS ELIote knyght, vnto the most noble and victorious prince kyng Henry the eight, by the grace of god kynge of Englande, Fraunce, and Irelande, defender of the fayth, and in erth of the church of England, and also of Irelande supreme head.

I LATE CONsyderyng (most excellent prynce and myne onely redoubted Soueraygne lorde) my duetie, that I owe to my naturall cuntreye, with my fayethe also of allegeaunce and othe, wherewith I am double bounde vnto youre maiestye, moreouer the accompte that I haue to render for that one lyttell talent deliuered to me, to employ (as I suppose) to the increase of vertue, I am (as god iuge me) violently stered to diuulgate or set forth some part of my study, trustynge thereby to acquite me of my duties to god, your highnes, and this my cuntrey. Wherfore taking comfort and boldnesse, partly of your graces most beneuolent inclination towarde the vniuersall weale of your subiectes, partly inflamed with zeale, I haue nowe enterprised

to describe in our vulgar tunge, the fourme of a iuste publike weale: whiche matter I haue gathered, as well of the sayinges of most noble autors (grekes and latines) as by myne owne experience: I beinge continually trayned in some dayely affaires of the publyke weale of this your most noble realme almost from my childhod. Which attemptate is not of presumption to teache any person. I my selfe haumge most nede of teaching: But only to the intent that men, whiche wyll be studious about the weale publike, may fynde the thynge therto expedyent compendiously written. And for as moche as this presente boke treateth of the education of them, that hereafter may be deemed worthy to be gouernours of the publyke weale vnder your hyghenesse (whyche Plato affyrmeth to be the first and chiefe parte of a publyke weale. Salomon sayinge also, where gouernours be nat, the people shall falle into ruine.) I therfore haue named it the Gouernour, and do nowe dedycate it vnto your hyghenesse as the fyrst fruites of my study: verily trustyng that your most excellent wysedome wyl therin esteme my loyall hart and diligent endeuour, by the example of Artaxerxes, the noble king of Persia: who reiected nat the poore husband man, which offred to him his homely handes full of cleane water, but most graciously receiued it with thankes, estemynge the present nat after the value, but rather to

the

the wyll of the gyuer. Semblably kinge Alexander retained with him the poete Cherilus honourably, for writing his hystorie, although that the poet was but of a small estimation: whiche that prince did nat for lacke of iugement, he being of excellent lernyng, as disciple to Aristotle, but to thentent that his liberalitie employed on Cherilus, shuld animate or gyue courage to others moche better learned, to contende with hym in a semblable enterprise. And if, most vertuous prince, I may perceiue your highnes to be herewith pleased, I shall soone after (god gyuynge me quyetnesse) present your grace with the resydue of my study and labours. wherein your hyghnes shall well perceyue, that I nothyng esteme so moch in this world, as your royall astate (my moste dere souerayne lorde, and the publyke weale of my countrey) protestynge vnto your excellent maiestye, that where I cõmende herein any one vertue, or dispraysle any oone vyce, I meane the generall description of thone and the other, without any other particular meanyng to the reproche of any one persone: to the whyche protestation, I am nowe dryuen through the malignitie of this present tyme, all disposed to malicious detraction. wherefore I moste humbly beseche your hyghnes, to dayne to be patron and defendour of this lyttel warke, agayne the assautes of maligne interpretours: whyche fayle not to rent and deface

the renoume of writers, they them selfes be-tog in nothyng to the publike weale profita-ble: whiche is by no man sooner perceyued, than by your hyghnes, being bothe in wyse-dome and very nobilitie, equall to the moste excellēt princis, whom I beseek god ye may surmount in longe lyfe and perfecte felicitie. Amen.

¶ The chapiters conteyned in the fyrste boke.

The signification of a publike weale, and why it is called in latine Respu-blica. Cap. i. fol. i.

That one soueraygne gouernour ought to be in a publike weale, & what damage hath happened by lackynge one soueraygne go-uernour. Cap. ii. fo. 6.

That in a publike weke ought to be inferiour gouernors called magistrates. ca. 3. fo. 11.

The education or forme of bringing vp the child of a gentyll man, which is to haue au-ctoritie in the publike weale. ca. 4. fo. 13.

The order of lernyng before the chyld co-meth to the age of. vii. yeres. cap. v. fo. 15.

Whan a tutour shuld be prouided, and what shall appertayn to his office. Cap. vi. fo. 17.

In

In what wyse musyke may be vnto a noble man necessary. cap.7. fol. 18.
That it is cõmendable in a gentyll man to paynt or carue exactly, yf nature do therto induce hym. Cap. 8. fo. 20.
What exact diligence shulde be in chusynge of maysters. Cap. ix. fo. 23.
What order shuld be in learning, and which autours shuld be fyrst radde. Ca. x fo. 25.
The moste necessary studies succedyng the lesson of poetes. cap. xi fo. 30.
Why gentylmenne in this present tyme be nat equall in doctrine to the auncient noble men. Cap. xii. fo. 36.
The seconde and thyrde decaye of learnynge. Cap xiii. fo. 38.
How the studentes in the lawes of this realme may take excellent commodity by the lessons of sundry doctrines. ca. xiiii. fo. 45.
The causes why in Englande be fewe perfect scholemaysters. Ca xv. fo. 50.
Of sundry fourmes of exercise necessarye for a gentylman. Cap. xvi. fol. 52.
Exercises wherof cometh bothe recreation and profyte. Cap. xvii. fo. 53.
The auncient huntyng of Grekes Romaines and Persians. Cap. xviii. fol. 58.
That all daunsynge is nat to be reproued.

Cap.xiv. fol.62.
The fyrst begynnyng of daunsyng, and the olde estimation therof. cap.xv. fo.63.
Wherefore in the good order of daunsynge a man and a woman doo daunse togyther. cap.xvi. fol.69.
Howe daunsynge maye be an introduction into the fyrste morall vertue called prudence. cap.xvii fo.69.
Of prouidence and industry. ca.xviii. fo.72
Of circumspection. cap.xviiii. fol.74
Of Election, Experyence, and Modestye. cap.xxv. fo.76.
Of other exercyses, whyche moderatelye vsed, be to euery astate of manne expediente. cap.xxvi. fol.78.
That shotynge in a longe bowe, is principall of all other exercises. ca.xxvii. fo.81.

The chappters conteyned in the seconde boke.

What thyng he that is elected to be a gouernour of a publike weale ought to premeditate. cap.xxi. fo.34.
What maiesty is. cap.ii. fo 88.
Of apparayle belongynge to a gouernour or great counsaylour. cap.iii. fo.91.

What

What very nobilitie is. cap.iiii.fo.92.
Of affabilitie & the vtilitie therof.ca.v. 95.
How noble a vertue placabilitie is.ca vi.99
That a gouernour oughte to be mercyfulle and the dyuersitie betweene mercy and vaynpytie. cap.vii. fo.103.
The thre principall partes of Humanytie. cap.viii. fol.108.
Of what excellẽce benenolẽce is.ca.ix.109
Of beneficence & liberalitie. ca.x.fo.116.
The true definition of amitie, and betweene what persons it hauneth. cap.xi. fo.118.
The wonderfull hystory of Titus and Sisippus, wherin is the ymage of perfecte amitie. cap.xii.fol.122.
The diuision of Ingratytude and the dysprayse therof. cap xiii.fol.136.
The election of frendes, and the dyuersitie of flatterers. cap.138.

¶ The chapiters conteyned in the thyrde Boke.

Of the moste excellent vertue named Justyce. cap.i.fol.141.
The fyrste part of Justyce distributiue. cap.iii.fo.146.
The thre notable counsailles of Reasone, societie,

ſocietie, and knowlege. cap.iii.fo.146.
Of fraude and Deceyte, whiche be agayne Juſtyce. Cap.iiii.fol.149.
That Juſtice ought̃e ſo be betweene enne-mies. Cap.v.fol.152.
Of faith̃ called in latin Fides.ca.vi.fo.153.
Of promiſe and couenant, and of what im-portaunce othes were in olde tyme. Capitul.vii. fol.190.
Of the noble vertue Fortitude, and the two extremities therof audacitie and time roſitie. Cap.viii. fo.163.
In what actes fortitude is. Cap.ix.fo.165.
Of peynefulneſſe a companyon of Forti-tude. Cap.x.fol.166.
Of the fayre vertue pacience, and the true definition ther of. Cap.xi. fo.169.
Of pacience in ſuſteynynge wronges and rebukes. Cap.xii. fo.170.
Of repulſe or hynderaunce of promotion. Cap.xiii. fol.171.
Of magnanimitie, whiche maye be named valiant courage. cap.xiiii.fo.173.
Of obſtinacy, a famylyar vice folowynge magnamitie. cap.xv.fo.176.
Of a perillous vice callid ãbition.xvi.fo.ro.
The true ſignification of abſtinence and con tynence. cap.xvii.fo.178.

Epam-

Exaumples of contynence gyuen by noble menne. cap.xviii. fo.182.
Of cõstance called also stabilitie.c.xix.183
The trewe signification of temperance. Cap.xx. fol.186.
Of moderation a spyce of Temperaunce. cap.xxi. fol.187.
Of moderation in dyete called sobrietie. cap.xxii. fol.190.
Of sappence and the defynition thereof. cap. xxiii. fol.194.
The trewe sygnification of vnderstanding. cap.xxiiii. fol.200.
Of experience pzetedynge our tyme with a defence of hystozies. cap.xxiiii.fo.203.
The experience necessary foz the person of euery gouernour. cap.xxv.fo.207.
Of detraction & the ymage therof made by Apelles the noble peynter. cap.xxvi.209
Of consultation and counsaile, and in what fozme they ought to be vsed.ca.xxvii.211.
The pzincipall consyderations to be in euery consultation. cap.xxviii.fo.213.
The seconde consideration with the conclusyon of this warke. cap.xxix.fol.215.

Tabula

A
Asteining frō rewardes. 79
Adolescency. fo. 92.
Alexādes muſicke 19.
Alexaunders crueltie. foli. 96.
Amitie. 108.
Ambition. 177.
Archa federis 65.
Arte of Rhethorycke in motyng 48.
Audacitie. 163.
Ancient Robes 93.
Arundell a hors 58.
B
Bee. fo. 6.
Benevolence. 108.
Beneficence. 116.
A Braule in danſing. Foll. 71.
Bucephal a hors. 57
C
Cāpus Martius. 55
Cardes. fol. 81.
Celeritie, or quyckeneſſe. fo. 71.
Ceremonies. fo. 145
Cheſſe. fol. 81.
Charitie. 108. 112.
Ciuile warres. fo. 9.
Comedies 42.
Cōmodities that do happen by aduancemēt of good mē. 171
Chorybantes 64.
Cesars tyrānny. 108
Continence. clxxviii.
Confydence. 185.
Conſtaunce egal to Juſtice. 184
Coſmographye, and the cōmodities therof. fol. 31.
Conſideration. 52.
Conſideration in giuyng. cxvi.
Coūſailours diſers. Fo. 80.
Coūcellors. 38.
Crueltie. cxvi.
Churches materiall & ornamentes. cxliii.
Curates. 69.
Courage. clxxiii.
Couetiſe. clxxviii.
Conſideration of gouernours 65.
Conſultation. cxvi.
Counſel ibidem.
Counſell proued by iii. thinges 212.
D
Dammage enſuyng lacke

lache of lybertie of
ſpeche. 97.
Decay of archers. 83
Deceit and theyr a-
uowe 94
Defence with wea-
pons. fol. 75.
Deuotion. cxliii.
Dimocratia. fo. 6.
Dioniſe the tyrã. xvi
Diſcretion. 78.
Diſobedience. 85.
E
Education of noble
wyttes. fo. xv.
England diuided. x.
Election. 76.
Eloquence. xiiii.
Epiſtol of king Phi
lip to Ariſtotle. 27.
Eſops fables. 25.
Equalitie in ſowles
and corporalle ſub-
ſtaunce. fo. 47.
Eſtimation in diſers
folio. 80.
Experyence or exe-
cution. fo. 77.
Exerciſes for preſer-
uyng of helth. lxxxi.
F
Faithfull tutor. 177
Faithfulnes in ſubs-
iectes. clvi.
Faith neglected. 154
Feſtina lente 72.
Fidelitie. cliiii.
Flatterie cxxxix.
Flatterers. clvii.
Foym of an oth. clx.
Frendes. 37.
Fraude and deceite.
cli. ci.
Frugalitie. clxxxx.
Frendeſhyp. cxxxvii.
G
Gentilmen. fo. xiiii.
Gelo kynge of Sy-
cyle. 72.
Gentyll coũtenance.
fo. 96.
Gouernance. clxiii.
Gouerneſſe. xv.
H
Honour. fol. 5.
Hiſtories. 32.
Hauhynge. clxi.
Hangynges & plate
mete for a noble mã.
fol. lxxxxi.
Haut coũtenãce. 95.
Henry beau clerke.
kynge of England.
folio. 36.
Hone-

Honestie. 153.
Huntyng of Perſy-
ans, Greekes, & Ro-
mans. 59.60.58.
I
Infancy. 16.
Inſtructiō in infan-
cye. fol.16.
Industry 73.
Idelneſſe 88.
Iuell cuſtome 80.
Ire, or wrath 99.
Iuſtice 110.142.
167.
Iniurie 150.
Incontinence. 180.
Image of detracti-
on. fo.210.
K
Kynges of Romay-
nes. fo.9.
Kyng Edgar. 10.
Kyng Dauid daun-
ſyng openly. 65.
Kyng Xerxes. 79.
Kyng Codrus. 112.
Kyndneſſe in beaſtes
fol. 136.
Knowlege. 147.
L
Leonidas. fo.20.
Liſippus. 25.
Liberalitie. 78.108
Libertie in ſpekyng.
96.
Liberall man. 108.
16.
Loyaltie. 155.
Logyke. 30.
Loue. 108.
M
Maieſtie. fo.8.
Mans qualities. 69
Maturitie. 71.
Manſuetude. 78.
Mercye ſhewed by
Auguſtus to his en-
nemie. 104.
Mercye and gentyl-
neſſe. fo.106.
Modeſtie. 78.77.
Morall philoſophy.
folio.34.
Moderatiō of wrath
fol.188.
Muſis. 107.
N
Nources howe they
ſhuld be choſen. 13.
Name of a kīg whēs
it proceded. 141.
Nobilitie. 93.
Numa kyng of Ro-
mains. Ibiden.
Nygard-

Nigardshyp 192.
O
Office of a tutor.17
Occupation. 11.
Opinion. 170.
Opportunitie. 76.
Order fol.2.
Othes. 170.
P
Pacience. 112.169. 172.
Paterne of a perfite gouernour. 168.
Peinfulnes in herig controuerfies.168.
Periurie 170.
Playeng at dice. 79
Phenix Achilles tutour. fol.17.
Plebs. fol.1.
Plebeii. 2.
Poetes. 30.
Policie of Annibal. 167.
Placabilitie 110.
Populus fo.1.
Profyte. eodem.
Prouidence 52.
Prudence. 70.
Prodigalite 117.
Princis of Grece. 8.
Publike weale, 1.
Publike. ibidem.
Publike & cõmune.2
Preparation of gouernours 84.
Promise 162.
Puiſſaunce lackyng beneuolence. 115.
R
Reſpublica. fo.1.
Remyng 54.
Rhetorike. 30.
Reprinſe in daunſyng. fo.74.
Remedy againſt impacience. 171.
Ridynge and vaunſyng of horſes. 57.
S
Sapience wordis to gouernours 86.
Sapience. 199.
Sharpeneſſe of Juſtyce. 110.
Science. fo.221.
Singles in danſyng 72.
Simplicitie 151.
Shotyng in a longe bowe. 82.
Sobrietie. 191.
Slowneſſe. 61.
Swymmynge. 58.

welthy man, that is riche in money and substaunce. Publike (as Varro sayeth) is diriued of people: whiche in latyn is called Populus. Wherfore it semeth, that men haue bene longe abused, in calling Reimpublicam, a commune weale. And they whiche do suppose it so to be called, for that, that euery thyng shulde be to all men in commune, without discrepaunce of any astate or condition, be therto moued more by sensualite, than by any good reason or inclination to humanitie. And that shall soone appere vnto them, that wyll be satisfied eyther with auctorite, or with naturall order and example.

Publyke.

¶ Fyrst the proper and true signification of the wordes, Publike and Comune, which be borowed of the latin tunge, for the insufficiencie of our owne language, shal sufficiētly declare the blyndenes of them, whiche haue hitherto holden and meynteyned the sayde opinions. As I haue sayde, publike toke his begynnyng of people, whiche in latin is Populus: in whiche worde is conteyned, all the inhabitantes of a realme or citie, of what astate or condition so euer they be.

Populus.

¶ Plebs in englysshe, is called the communaltie, whiche signifieth onely the multitude, wherin be conteined the base and vulgare inhabitantes, not auanced to any honour or dignitie: whiche is also vsed in our dayly communication, for in the citie of London, and other cities, they that be none aldermen, or shiriffes, be called comuners. And in the cō

Plebs.

frey

ery at a sessiõs, or other assẽbly, if no gentilmen be therat, the saying is, that there was none but the cõmynaltie, whiche prouerbe, in mine opinion, that Plebs in latine, is in english cõmynaltie: and Plebeii be comuners. Plebeii.

¶ And consequently there may appere, lyke diuersitie to be in englysh, betwene a publike weale and a commune weale, as shulde be in latin, betwene Res publica, and Res plebeia. Publike & commune.

And after that signification, if there shulde be a commune weale, either the comuners onely must be welthy, and the gentyl and noble men, nedy and miserable: or els excluding gentilitie, all men must be of one degre and sort, & a newe name prouided. For as moche as Plebs, in latine, and comiuers in englishe, be wordes onely made for the discrepance of degrees, wherof procedeth Ordre: whiche in thynges as well naturall as supernaturall, hath euer had such a preeminẽce, that therby the incõprehẽsible maiestie of god, as it were by a bright leme of a torche or cãdle, is declared to the blynd inhabitantes of this worlde Ordre.

¶ Moreouer, take awaye Ordre from all thinges, what shulde than remaine? Certes nothing finally, except some man wold imagine ettelonges, Chaos, whyche of some is expounded, a confuse mixture. Chaos.

¶ Also where there is any lacke of ordre, nedes must be perpetual cõflicte. And in thinges subiecte to nature, no thyng of him selfe only may be nourysshed: but whan he hathe destroyed that, wherwith he doth participate,

by the ordre of his creation, he hym selfe of necessitie muste than perisshe, wherof ensueth vniuersall dyssolution.

¶ But nowe to proue by example of those thynges, that be within the compasse of mās knowlege, of what estimation Ordre is, not onely amonge men, but also with god, all be it his wysedome, bountie, and magnificence, can be with no tungue or pen sufficiently expressed. Hath not he sette degrees and astates in all his glorious warkes?

¶ Fyrste in his heauenly ministers, whom, as the churche affyrmeth, he hath constituted to be in dyuers degrees, called hierarches: Also Christ sayeth, by his euangelist, that in the house of his father (whiche is god) be many mansions.

¶ But to treate of that, whiche by naturall vnderstandyng, may be comprehended. Beholde the foure elementes, wherof the body of man is compacte, howe they be set in their places, called spheres, hygher or lower, accordyng to the soueraynte of theyr natures: that is to say, the fyre, as the moste pure elemente, hauyng in it nothyng, that is corruptible, in his place, is hyghest, and aboue other elemētes. The ayer, whiche nexte to the fyre, is moste pure in substance, is in the seconde sphere or place: The water, whiche is somewhat consolidate, and approcheth to corruption, is nexte vnto the earth: The earth whiche is of substance gros and ponderous, is set, of all elementes, moste lowest.

Elementes

Beholde

¶ Beholde also the ordre, that god hath put generally in all his creatures, begynnyng at the moste inferiour or base, and alcēding vpwarde: he made not onely herbes to garnisshe the earth, but also trees of a more eminēt stature, than herbes: and yet in the one and the other, be degrees of qualities, some pleasant to beholde, some delycate or good in taste, other holsome and medicinable, some commodious and necessarie. Semblably in bydes, beastes, & fyshes, some be good for the sustinance of man: some beare thynges profitable to sondry vses: other be apte to occupation and labour: in dyuerse is strengthe and fiersenes onely: in many is bothe strengthe and commoditie: some other serue for pleasure: none of them hathe all these qualities: fewe haue the more parte or many, specially beautie, strengthe, and profyt. But where any is founde, that hathe many of the sayde properties, he is more sette by, than all the other, and by that estimation, the ordre of his place and degree euidently appereth. So that euery kynde of trees, herbes, birdes, beastis, and fyshes, besyde theyr diuersitie of fourmes, haue (as who sayeth) a peculiar disposition, appropried vnto them, by god their creatour: so that in euery thyng is ordre, and without ordre may be nothyng stable or permanent. And it may not be called Ordre, excepte it do conteyne in it, degrees, hygh and base, accordyng to the merite or estimation of the thyng that is ordered.

¶ Nowe to returne to the astate of mannkynde, for whose vse, all the sayde creatures were ordained of god, and also excelleth them all, by prerogatiue of knowledge and wysedome. It semeth, that in him shulde be no les prouidence of god declared, than in the inferiour creatures: but rather with a more perfecte ordre and disposicō. And therfore it appereth, that god giueth not to euery manne like giftes of grace, or of nature, but to some more, to some lesse, as it lyketh his diuine maiestie. Ne they be not in cōmune (as fantasticall fooles wolde haue all thynges) nor one mā hath not all vertues, and good qualities.

Understandyng.

¶ Not withstandyng, for as muche as vnderstanding, is the moste excellent gyfte, that man can receyue in his creation, where by he dothe approche moste nyghe vnto the similitude of god, whiche vnderstandyng is the principall parte of the soule: It is therfore congruent, and accordyng, that as one excelleth an other, in that influence, as therby beyng nerte to the similitude of his maker: so shulde the astate of his person be auanced in degree, or place, where vnderstandyng may profyt, whiche is also distributed into sondry vses, faculties, and offices, necessary for the lyuyng and gouernaunce of mankynde. And lyke as the angels, whiche be moste feruent in contemplation, be hyghest exalted in glory (after the opinion of holy doctours) and also the fyre, whiche is the moste pure of elementers, and also doth clarifie the other inferiour

elemen-

elementes, is deputed to the hyghest sphere or place. So in this worlde, they, whiche excelle other in this influence of vnderstanding and do imploye it to the deteynyng of other within the boundes of reason, and shewe them, howe to prouide for theyr necessarie lyuyng: suche ought to be sette in a more high place, than the residue, where they may se, and also be sene, that by the beames of theyr excellent wytte, shewed through the glasse of auctoute, other of inferiour vnderstandyng, may be directed to the way of vertue and cõmodious lyuyng.

¶ And vnto men of suche vertue, by very equitie apperteineth Honour, as theyr iuste rewarde and duetie: whiche by other mens labours, muste also be meinteined, accordyng to theyr merites. For as muche as the sayde persons, excellyng in knowledge, wherby other be gouerned: be mynisters for the onely profyte and cõmoditie of them, whiche haue not equal vnderstãdyng: where they, whiche do exercise artificiall science, or corporall labour, doo not trauayle for theyr superiours onely, but also for theyr owne necessitie So the husbande man fedeth him selfe and the clothe maker: the clothe maker apparayleth him selfe and the husband: they bothe socour other artificers: other artificers them: they other artificers, them that be gouernours. Honour,

¶ But they that be gouernours (as I before sayde) nothyng do acquire by the sayde influence of knowledge for their owne neces-

sities, but do imploye all the powers of their wyttes, and theyr diligence, to the onely preseruation of other theyr inferiours. Amonge whiche inferiours also behoueth to be a dispositiō and ordre, accordyng to reasō: that is that the slouthful or ydle person, do not participate with hym, that is industrious, & taketh peyne, wherby the fruites of his laboures, shulde be diminished, wherin shulde be none equalitie, but therof shulde proceede discourage, and finally dyssolution, for lacke of prouision. Wherfore it can none other wyse stande with reason, but that the astate of the person in preeminence of lyuyng, shulde be estemed, with his vnderstādyng, labour, and policie: where vnto muste be added an augmentation of honour and substance, whiche not onely impreselleth a reuerence, wherof procedeth due obedience amonge subiectes, but also inflameth mē, naturally inclined to idlenes, or sensuall appetite, to coueyte lyke fortune, and for that cause, to dispose them to study or occupation.

¶ Nowe to conclude my fyrste assertion or argument. Where al thyng is comune, there lacketh ordre: and where ordre lacketh, there all thyng is odioule, and vncomly. And that haue we in dayly experience, for the pannes and pottes, garnysshe well the kitchyng, and yet shulde they be to the chambre none ornament. Also the beddes, testars and pyllowes, beseme not the hal, no more thā the carpettes and kusshines become the stable. Semblably the

the potee and tynker, onely perfecte in theyr crafte, shall littell do, in the ministration of Justice. A ploughman or carter, shall make but a feble answere to an ambassadour. Also a wayuer or fuller, shuld be an vnmete captaine of an army, or in any other office of a gouernour. Wherfore to conclude, it is only a publike weale, where, like as god hath disposed the sayde influence of vnderstandyng, is also appointed degrees and places, accordyng to the excellency therof, and therto also wold be substance conuenient, and necessary, for the ornament of the same: which also impresseth a reuerence and due obedience to the vulgare people or cõmunaltie, and without that, it can be no more sayde, that there is a publike weale, than it may be affyrmed, that a house without his proper and necessary ornamentes, is wel and sufficiently furnished.

¶ That one souerayne gouernour ought to be in a publyke weale. And what damage hath happened, wher a multitude hath hadde equall auctoritie without any souerayne. Cap. ii.



Yue as to a castel or fortres sufficeth one owner or souereign, and where any mo be of lyke power & authoryte, seldome cometh the warke to perfection, or beynge allredy made, where the one di-

ligētly ouerseeth, and the other neglecteth, in that contention all is subuerted and cōmeth to ruyne, In semblable wise doth a publyke weale, that hath mo chiefe gouernours than one. Example we maye take of the Grekes, among whom in diuers cities, weare diuers fourmes of publyke weales, gouerned by multitudes: wherin one was most tolerable, where the gouernaunce and rule was alway permitted to them, whiche excelled in vertue, and was in the Gecke tonge called Aristocratia, in latin Oprimorum Potentia, in englische, the rule or meane of best dispolition, which the Thebanes of long time obserued. ¶ An other publique weale was among the Athenienlis, where equalitie was of astate amonge the people, and onely by theyr hole consente, theyr Cytie and dominions were gouerned: whiche moughte well be called a Monster with manye heades, nor neuer it was certayne or stable, and often tymes they banilshed, or slewe the best cytezins, whiche by theyr vertue and wysedome, hadde moste profytyd to the publyke weale. This maner of gouernaunce was called in greke Dimocratia, in latin, Popularis potentia, in englysche, the rule of the commmaltie. Of these two gouernaunces, none maye be sufficient. For in the first, which cōlisteth of good men, vertue is not so constant in a multitude, but that some beyng ones in authorite, be incensed with glorye, some with ambition, other with couetise, desire of treasur or possessiōs,

Dimocratia.

wherby

wherby they falle into contention, & finally, where any achaueth the superiorite, the hole gouernāce is reduced vnto a few in nombre, whiche fearyng the multitude, & their mutabilitie, to the intent to kepe them in drede to rebell, ruleth by terrour, & crueltie thynkyng therby, to kepe thē selfe in suertie. Not withstandyng, rancour coarcted, and long deteyned in a narowe roume, as the lafte braſteth out, with intollerable violence, & bryngeth al to confuſion. For the power, that is practized to the hurte of many, can not continue.

¶ The popular eſtate, yf it any thing do vary from equalitie of ſubſtāce, or eſtimatiō, or that the multitude of people, haue ouer moch libertie, of neceſſitie one of theſe inconueniēces muſt happen, either tyrānny, where he that is to moch in fauor, wold be eleuate, & ſuffre none equalitie, or elles into the rage of a cōmunaltie, whiche of all rules is mooſt to be feared. For lyke as the communies, yf they fele ſome ſeueritie, do humbly ſerue & obeye, ſo where they imbracing a lyrence, refuſe to be bridled, do flyng and plunge: and if they ones throw downe their gouernour, they order euery thyng without iuſtice, onely with vengeance and crueltie, & with incomparable difficultie, and vneth by any wyſedome, be pacified & brought agayn into order. Wherfore vndoubtedly, the beſt and the moſt ſure gouernāce, is by one King or Prince, whiche ruleth onely for the weale of his people: and that maner of gouernance is beſt approued,

and

and hath longeſt cõtinued, and is moſt auncient. For who can denye, but that all thyng in heuen and erthe is gouerned by one god, by one perpetuall ordre, by one prouidence? One ſonne ruleth ouer the day, & one Moone ouer the nyght. And to deſcende downe to the erthe.

Bee ¶ In a lyttell beaſt, whiche of all other is moſt to be meruayled at, I meane the Bee, is lefte to man by nature, as it ſemeth, a perpetual figure, of a iuſte gouernaunce or rule: who haue among them, one principall Bee, for theyr gouernour, which excelleth al other in greatnes, yet hath he no pricke or ſtinge, but in hym is more knowlege thanne in the reſidue. For yf the daye folowynge ſhall be fayre and dry, and that the bees maye yſſue out of theyr ſtalles, without peryll of raine, or vehement wynd, in the morynyng erely he calleth them, makyng a noyſe, as it were the ſowne of a horne, or a trumpet, and with that, all the reſidue prepare them to labour, and fleeth abrode, gatherynge nothynge, but that ſhall be ſwete and profitable, although they ſytte often tymes on herbes, and other thynges, that be venemous and ſtynkynge. The capitayne hym ſelfe, laboureth not for his ſuſtynaunce, but all the other for him: he only ſeeth, that yf any drane, or other vnprofytable bee, entreth into the hyue, and conſumeth the homy, gathered by other, that he be immediately expelled frõ that company. And whanne there is a nother nombre of bees encreaſed

creased, they semblably haue also a capitaine, whiche is not suffered to cõtinue with the other. Wherfore this new company, gathered in a swarme, hauyng theyr capitayne among theym, and enuironyng hym, to preserue hym frome harme, yssue forthe, seekyng a new habitation: whiche they finde in some tree, excepte with some pleasaunt noyse, they be alured and conueyed vnto an other hyue.

¶ I suppose, who seriously beholdeth this example, & hath any commendable wyt, shall therof gather moche matter, to the fourmyng of a publyke weale. But bycause I may not be long therin, consideryng my purpose, I wolde the reder herof, yf he be lerned, shulde repayre to the Georgikes of Virgile, or to Plini, or Collumella, wher he shal finde the example more ample, and better declared.

¶ And yf anye desyreth to haue the gouernaunce of one person, proued by hystories, let hym firste resorte to the holye scripture, where he shal fynde, that almyghtye god cõmanded Moises onely, to bryngе his elected people out of captiuitie, gyuyng only to him that auctoritie, without appoyntyng to hym any other assystence of equal power or dignitie: except in the message to kynge Pharao, wherin Aaron, rather as a minister thanne a companyon, went with Moises. But only Moises conducted the people, throughe the redde sea, he onely gouerned thē forty yeres in deserte. And bycause Dathan and Abiron disdayned his rule, and coueted to be equall with

Moises.

Aaron.

Dathan & Abiron.

with him, the erthe opened, & fyre issued out, and swalowed them in, with al theyr hol fa-
mylye, and confederates, to the nombre of 14700. And all thoughe Hietro, Moses fa-
The counsayle of Hietro. ther in lawe, counsayled hym to depart his importable labours, in continual iugemētes, vnto the wise men, that were in his compa-
ny: he not withstandynge, stylle retayned the soueraynte, by goddes commandement, vn-
tyll a lytle before he dyed, he resigned it to Josue, assigned by god to be ruler after hym.

Josue successour to Moyses. ¶ Semblably after the dethe of Josue, by the space of. 246. yeres, succeded frome time to tyme, one ruler among the Jewes, whiche was chosen for his excellēcy in vertue & spe-
cialy iustice. wherfore he was called the iuge vntil the Israelites desired of almighty god, to let thē haue a kyng, as other people had:

Saul. who appoynted to theym Saul, to be theyr kyng, who exceded all other in stature.

¶ And so successiuely one kyng gouerned al the people of Israell, vnto the tyme of Ro-

Roboaz. boaz, son of the noble kyng Salomon Who beynge vnlyke to his father in wysedome, practised tyranny among his people. Wher-
fore. ix. partes of theym, whyche they called Tribus, forsoke hym, & elected Hieroboam, late seruaunt to Salomon, to be their kyng, onely the. x. parte remaynyng with Roboaz. And soo in that realme were contynuallye two kynges, vntyll the kynge of Mede had depopulate the countreye, and brought the people in captiuitie to the cyte of Babylon:

So

So that durynge the tyme, that two kinges rayned ouer the Jewes, was euer continuall batayle among theym selfes: where yf one kynge had alwaye rayned lyke to Dauid or Salomon, of lykelyhode the countrey shuld not so sone haue ben brought in captiuitie.

¶ Also in the tyme of the Machabeis, as longe as they had but one bushop, whiche was theyr ruler, and was in the steede of a prynce, they valiantly resysted the gentyls: and as well the Romaynes, than great lordes of the worlde, as Persians, and diuers other realmes, desyred to haue with theym amitie and aliaunce: and al the inhabitantes of that countreye, lyued in great weale and quietnes. But after that by symonye & ambition, there happened to be two bishoppes, whiche deuyded theyr authorytes, and also the Romaynes had deuyded the realme of Judea to foure prynces, called Tetrarchas, and also constytuted a Romayne capitayne or presidente ouer them: amonge the heades there neuer ceased to be sedition, and perpetual dyscorde: wherby at the laste the people was dystroyed, and the countrey brought to desolation and horrible barrennes.

¶ The Grekes, whiche were assembled to reuenge the repproche of Menelaus, that he toke of the Trotans by the rauishing of Helene his wyfe, dydde not they by one assente electe Agamemnon to be theyr emperour or capitayne: obeying him as theyr soucrayne, durynge the siege of Troye: all though that

they

Pzinces of Grece

they hadde diuers excellent pzincis, not only equall to hym, but also excellyng hym, as in pzowes Achilles, and Aiax Thelemonien: in wisedome Nestoz, and Ulisses, and his owne bzother, Menelaus: to whom they moughte haue gyuen equal auctozitie with Agamemnon: but those wise pzinces consydered, that without a generall capitayne, soo many persons as were there, of diuers realmes gathered together, shulde be by no meanes wel gouerned Wherfoze Homere calleth Agamẽnon the shepzherd of pzple. They rather were contented to be vnder one mans obedience, than seuerally to vse theyz auctozities, oz to ioyne in one power and dignite, wherby at the laste shouide haue sourded discention amonge the people, they beinge separately enclined toward their naturall souerayne lozd: as it appered in the particuler contention, that was betwene Achilles and Agamemnõ foz theyz cõcubines, where Achilles, renouncyng the obedience, that he with al other pzincis had befoze pzomysed, at the batayle fyzst enterpzysed agaynste the Troyans. Foz at that tyme no lyttell murmur, & sedition was moued in the hoste of the grekes, whiche not withstanding was wonderfully pacified: and the armie vnscatered, by the maiestie of Agamemnon, ioynyng to him counsailours, Nestoz and the wytty Ulisses.

Agamemnon.

Maiestie.

Nestoz.

Ulisses.

¶ But to retourne agayne, Athenes and other cities of Grece, whan they hadde abandoned kynges, and concluded to lyue as it were

were in a cõmunaltie, whiche abusiuly they called equalitie, howe longe tyme dyd any of them continue in peace? Yea what vacation had they from the warres? or what noble man had they, whiche auaunced the honour and weale of theyr Citie, whom they did not banishe or slee in prison? Surely it shall appere to them, that wyll rede Plutarche, or Emilius Probus, in the liues of Miltiades, Cimon, Themistocles, Aristides, and diuerse other noble and valiant capitaynes: whiche is to longe here to reherse.

¶ In lyke wyse the Romaynes, duryng the tyme that they were vnder kynges, whiche was by the space of. 144. yeres, were well gouerned, nor neuer was amonge them discorde or sedition: But after that by the persuasion of Brutus and Colatinus, whose wyfe (Lucrecia) was rauyshed by the sonne of Tarquine, kynge of Romaynes, not only the sayde Tarquine and all his posteritie, were exiled out of Rome for euer, but also it was finally determyned amonge the people, that neuer after they wolde haue a kynges reygne ouer them. Consequently the cõmunaltie more and more encroched a licence, and at the laste compelled the Senate to suffre them to chose yerely among thẽ, gouernours of theyr owne astate & condition, whom they called Trybunes: vnder whom they receiued suche audacitie and power, that they finally opteined the highest auctorite in the publike

Kynges in Rome.

Lucrecia.

Tribunes.

weale: in so muche, that oftentymes they did repele the actes of the Senate, and to those Tribunes mought a man appele from the Senate, or any other office or dignitie. But what came thereof in conclusion? Surely whan there was any difficulte warre imminent, they were constrayned to electe one soueraygne and chiefe of all other, whom they named Dictator, as it were commaunder, from whom it was not laufull for any man to appeale. But bycause there appered to be in him the pristinate auctorite and maiestie of a kynge, they wolde no longer suffre hym to continue in that dignity, than by the space of .vi. monethes, excepte he than resigned it, and by the consente of the people ekstones dyd resume it. Finally vntyll Octauius Augustꝰ had destroied Anthony, and also Brutus: and finished all the Ciuile warres (that were so called bycause they were betwene the same selfe Romayn citezins) the citie of Rome was neuer long quiete from factions or sedicions amonge the people. And if the nobles of Rome had not bene men of excellent learnyng, wysedome, and prowesse, and that the Senate, the moste noble counsaylle in all the worlde, whiche was fyrste ordeyned by Romulus, and encreased by Tullus Hostilius, the thyrd kyng of Romayns, had not continued, and with great difficultie reteyned theyr auctorite, I suppose verely, that the citie of Rome had bene vtterly desolate

Dictator.

Ciuile warres

solate sone after the expellyng of Tarquine. And if it had ben eftsones renued, it shuld haue ben twenty times distroied, before the tyme that Auguste reigned: so much discorde was euer in the citie, for lacke of one gouernour.

¶ But what nede we to searche so fer from vs, seins we haue sufficient examples nere vnto vs? Behold the astate of Florence and Gene, noble cities of Italy, what calamite haue they bothe susteyned by theyr owne factions, for lacke of a continuall gouernour?

Florence and Gene

¶ Ferrare, and the most excellēt citie of Venise, hauyng dukes, seldome suffre damage, excepte it happen by outwarde hostilitie.

Ferraria

¶ We haue also an example at home, whiche is moste necessary to be noted.

¶ After that the Saxons by treasone had expelled out of England the Britons whiche were the auncient inhabitantes, this realme was deuided into sundry regions, or kyngdomes. O what mysery was the people than in? O how this most noble Isle of the world was decerpte and rent in pieces? the people pursued and hunted like wolfes, or other beastes sauage: none industry auailed, no strēgth defended, no ryches profyted. Who wolde then haue deslyred to haue bene rather a man than a dog, whan men eyther with swerdes or with hunger perysshed, hauyng no profite or sustynaunce of theyr owne corne or cattel, whiche by mutuall warre was contynually distroyed? Yette the dogges, eyther ta-

England deuided.

kyng that that men coulde not quietly come by, or fedyng on the deade bodies, whiche on euery parte lay scatered plentuously, dyd satisfie theyr hunger.

¶ Where fynde ye any good lawes, that at that tyme were made and vsed? or any commendable monumēte, of any science or craft in this realme occupied? Suche iniquitie semeth to be than, that by the multitude of soueraygne gouernours, all thynges had bene brought to confusiō, if the noble king Edgar had not reduced the monarchie to his pristinate astate and fygure: whiche brought to passe, reason was reuiued, and people came to conformitie, and the realme began to take comforte, and to shewe some vysage of a publike weale: and so (lauded be god) haue continued: but not beyng alway in lyke astate or condition. All be it, it is not to be dispayred, but that the kyng our soueraygne lord nowe reigning, and this realme, alway hauing one prince, lyke vnto his highnes, equall to the auncient princis, in vertue & courage, it shall be reduced (god so disposing) vnto a publike weal, excellyng al other in preemunēce of vertue, and abundance of thynges necessary.

Kynge Edgar.

¶ But for as muche as I do well perceyue, that to wryte of the office or duetie of a soueraygne gouernour or prince, farre exceadeth the compasse of my learnyng, holye scripture affyrmyng, that the hartes of prynces be in goddes owne handes and disposition: I wyl

therfore kepe my penne within the space that is described to me, by the thre noble maisters, reason, learning, and experience. Andby their enseignement or teachyng, I wyll ordinately treate of the two partes of a publyke weale, wherof the one shall be named due administratiō, the other necessary occupatiō, which shall be deuyded into two volumes. In the fyrste shall be comprehended the best fourme of education or bryngyng vp of noble chyldren, from theyr natiuitie, in suche maner as they may be founde worthy, and also able to be gouernours of a publyke weale. The seconde volume, whiche god grauntyng me quietnes and libertie of mynde, I wyl shortly after sende forth: It shall conteyne all the remenant, whiche I can eyther by learnyng or experience fynde apte to the perfection of a iuste publyke weale: in the whiche, I shall so endeuour my selfe, that all men, of what astate or condition so euer they be, shal fynde therin occasion to be alway vertuously occupied: and not without pleasure, if they be not of the scholes of Aristippus, or Apitius: of whom the one supposed felicitie to be onely in lechery, the other in delicate fedyng and glotony. From whose sharpe talons and cruel teeth, I beseche all gentyll readers to defende these warkes, which for their commoditie is only compiled.

Due administration.

Occupatiō

¶ That in a publyke weale ought to be inferiour gouernours called Magistrates, whych shalbe appointed or chose by the souerayne gouernour. Capi. iii.

THERE be bothe reasons and examples vndoutedly infinite, wherby maye be proued that there can be no perfecte publike weale, without one capitall and souerayne gouernour, whiche may longe endure or continue. But sens one mortall man can not haue knowledge of all thynges done in a realme or large dominion, and at one time discusse all controuersies, reformme all transgressions, and exploite all consultations, cōcluded as wel for outward, as inwarde affayres: it is expedient, and also nedefull, that vnder the capitall gouernour be sondrye meane auctorities, as it were ayding him in the distribution of iustice in sondry partes of a huge multitude: wherby hys labours beyng leuigate, and made more tollerable, he shall gouerne with the better aduise, and consequently with a more perfecte gouernaunce. And as Iesus Sirach, sayeth. Sapi. vi. The multitude of wyse men is the wealth of the worlde. They whiche haue suche auctorities to them cōmitted, may be called inferiour gouernours, hauing respecte to theyr office or duetie, wherin is also a representation of gouernance: Al be it they be named in latin

Magi

Magistratus. And herafter I intende to call them Magistrates, lackyng an other more conuenient word in englishe: but that wyl I do in the seconde parte of this warke, where I purpose to wryte of theyr sondry offices, or effectes of theyr auctoritie.

¶ But for as much as in this part I intend to wryte of theyr education and vertue in maners, whiche they haue in cõmune with princes, in as muche as therby they shall as well by example, as by auctoritie, ordre wel them, whiche by theyr capital gouernour, shalbe to theyr rule committed, I may without anoyance of any man, name them gouernours at this tyme, appropriating to the soueraygnes, names of kynges and princis, lens of a long custome, these names in cõmune fourme of speaking, be in a higher preeminẽce and estimatiõ than gouernours. That in euery commune weale ought to be a greate numbre of suche maner of persons, it is partely proued in the chapiter nexte before written, wher I haue spoken of the commoditie of ordre.

¶ Also reason and commune experience playnely declare, that where the dominion is large and populouse, there it is conuenient, that a prynce haue many inferiour gouernours: which be named of Aristotel, his eies, eares, handes, and legges: whiche if they be of the beste sorte (as he further more sayeth) it semeth impossible, a countrey not to be well gouerned by good lawes. And except

Politic. li. iiii.

excellent vertue and learnyng do inhable a manne of the base astate of the cõmunaltie, to be thought of al men worthy to be so muche auaunced, els suche gouernours wolde be chosen out of that astate of men, whiche be called worshypfull, if amonge them may be founden a sufficient numbre, ornate with vertue and wisedome, mete for suche purpose: and that for sundry causes.

¶ Fyrst it is of good congruence, that the superiours in condition or hauiour, shulde haue also preeminence in administration, if they be not inferiour to other in vertue.

Also they hauyng of theyr owne reuenues certayne wherby they haue competent substance to lyue without takyng rewardes: it is lykely, that they wyll not be so desirous of lucre (wherof may be engendred corruption) as they, whiche haue very lyttell or nothyng so certaine.

Gentilmen

¶ Moreouer, where vertue is in a gentyll mã, it is cõmonly myxt with more sufferãce, more affabilitie, & mildnes, than for the more parte it is in a person rural or of a very base lynage, and whan it happeth other wyse, it is to be accõpted lothsome and monstruous.

¶ Furthermore, where the person is worshypful, his gouernance, though it be sharpe, is to the people more tollerable, and they therwith the lesse grutche or be disobedient.

¶ Also suche men hauyng substãce in goodes by certeine and stable possessions, which they

they may appoꝛcionate to theyꝛ owne liuing and bꝛyngyng vp of theyꝛ chyldꝛen in leꝛnyng and vertues, maye (if nature repugne not) cauſe them to be ſoo inſtructed and furnyſhed towarde the adminiſtration of a publyke weale, that a pooꝛe mannes ſonne, onlyy by his naturall wyt, without other helpe, neuer oꝛ ſeldome maye attayne to the lyke. Toward the whiche inſtruction, I haue pꝛepared this warke.

¶ The education oꝛ fourme of bꝛinging vp of the chylde of a gentylman, whiche is to haue auctoꝛite in a publyke weale. Capitulo. iiii.

FOꝛ as moch as al noble authoꝛs do conclude, and commune experyence pꝛoueth, that where the gouernours of realmes & cities be founden, adourned with vertues and do employ theyꝛ ſtudye and mynde to the publyke weale, as well to the augmentation therof, as to the eſtablyſhyng and longe continuaunce of the ſame, there a publyke weale muſte nedes be bothe honorable and welthy. To the entent to declare, howe ſuche perſonages may be pꝛepared, I wyl vſe the policie of a wyſe and cunnynge gardener, who purpoſyng to haue in his gardeine a fyne and pꝛeciouſe herbe, that

Education of noble wyttes.

shoulde be to hym and all other, repayrynge therto, excellently cõmodious, or pleasaunt: he wyl fyrst serche throughout his gardeine, where he can fynde the most melow and fertyle erthe, and therin wyll he put the sede of the herbe to growe, and be nouysshed, and m most diligent wise attende, that no weede be suffred to grow or approche nygh vnto it: to the ende it may thriue the faster, as soone as the fourme of an herbe ones appereth, he will set a vessel of water by it, in suche wise, that it maye continually distyll on the rote swete dropes: and as it springeth in stalke, vnder sette it with some thyng, that it breake not, and alwaye kepe it clene frome wedes. Lyke order wyl I ensue, in the fourmyng the gentyll wyttes of noble mennes chyldren, who frome the woombes of theyr mother, shalbe made propise or apte to the gouernaunce of a publyke weale.

Norises howe they oughte to be chosen

¶ Fyrste they, vnto whom the bringing vp of suche chyldren apperteyneth, oughte agaynste the tyme that theyr mother shall be of them delyuered, to be sure of a nourise, whiche shoulde be of no serule condicion, or vice notable. For as some auncient writers do suppose, often tymes the chylde souketh the vyce of his nourise, with the mylke of her pappe. And also obserue, that she be of mature or ripe age, not vnder. xx. yeres, or aboue xxx. her bodye also beyng clene frō all sykenes, or deformyte, and hauing her complection

plection moſt of the ryghte & pure ſanguine. For as moch as the milke therof coming, excelleth al other, both in ſwetnes & ſubſtance.

A goodnes or dyſnoyce.

¶ Moreouer, to the nouryſe ſhoulde be appoynted an other woman, of approued vertue, diſcretion, and grauitie, who ſhall not ſuffre in the chyldes preſence to be ſhewed any acte or tatche dyſhoneſte, or any wanton or vncleane woꝛke to be ſpoken. And foꝛ that cauſe all men, excepte phiſytyons only ſhuld be excluded and kepte out of the nurſery.

¶ Perchaunce ſome wyl ſcoꝛne me, foꝛ that I am ſoo ſeryous, ſayinge that there is no ſuche damage to be fered in an infant, who foꝛ tenderneſſe of yeres, hath not the vnderſtandynge, to deceme good frome yuell And yet no manne wyll denye, but in that innocentye he wyll deceme mylke frome butter, and bꝛeadde frome pappe, and ere he canne ſpeake, he wyll with his hande oꝛ contenaunce ſygnifie, whiche he deſyꝛeth. And I veryly ſuppoſe, that in the bꝛaynes and hartes of yonge chyldꝛen, whyche be membꝛes ſpyrytuall, whyles they be tender, and the lyttel ſtyppes of reaſon begyn in them to burgyne, there maye happe by yuell cuſtome, ſome peſtyferous dewe of vyce to perſe the ſayde membꝛes, and infecte and coꝛrupte the ſofte and tendꝛe buddes, wherby the fruite maye gꝛowe wylde, and ſome tyme conteyne in it feruente and moꝛtall poyſon, to the vtter deſtruction of a realme.

¶ And

Enfancye. ¶ And we haue in daily experience, that lit-
tell infantes allaye to folowe, not onely the
wordes, but also the faictes, and gesture of
them, that be prouede in yeres. For we daily
here, to our great heupnes, chyldren swere
greatte othes, and speake lasciuious and vn-
clene wordes, by the example of other, whom
they here: wherat the lewde parentes doo re-
toyce, some after, or in this world, orels wher
to theyr great peyne and tourment. Contra-
rywyse, we beholde some chyldren, kneiyng
in theyr game before ymages, and holdyng
vp theyr lyttell whyte handes, moue theyr
praty mouthes, as they were prayeng: other
going and singyng, as it were in procession,
wherby they do expresse theyr disposition, to
the imitation of those thynges, be they good
or yuel, whiche they vsually se or here. wher-
fore not onely princis, but also al other chil-
dren, frome theyr nurises pappes, are to be
kepte diligently from the heryng or seing of
any vice or yuell tache. And incontinent, as
soone as they can speake, it behoueth with
most pleasaunt allurynges, to instill in them
swete maners and vertuouse custome.

¶ Also to prouide for theym suche compa-
nions and play felowes, as shall not doo in
theyr presence anye reprocheable acte, or
speake any vncleane word or othe, ne to ad-
uaunte theym with flatterye, remembrynge
theyr nobylytie, or anye other lyke thynge,
wherin they moughte glorye: onles it be to

perswade

perſwade them to vertue, or to withdrawe them from vice, in the remembryng to them the danger of theyr yuell example. For noble menne more greuously offende by theyr example, than by theyr dede. Yet often remembraunce to theym of theyr astate, maye happen to radicate in theyr hartes intollerable pryde, the moste dangerous pylon to nobleines. Wherfore there is requyred to be there in moche cautelle and sobrenes.

¶ The ordre of lernynge, that a noble man shulde be trayned in, before he come to thaige of seuen yeres. Cap. v.

Some olde auctours hold opinio, that before the age of seuen yeres, a chylde shulde not be instructed in letters, but those wryters were eyther grekes or latines: amog whom al doctrine and sciences were in theyr maternal tonges, by reason wherof they saued al that long time, whiche at this dayes is spente in understandynge perfectely the greke or latyn. Wherfore it requireth nowe a longer tyme to the understandynge of bothe. Therfore that infelycitie of our tyme and countrey compelleth vs to encroche somwhat vpon the yeres of childzen, and specially of noble menne, that they maye soner attayne to wisedom and grauitie, than

pryuate persones: consyderynge, as I haue sayde, theyr charge & example, whiche aboue all thinges is most to be esteemed. Notwithstandyng I wold not haue them inforced by violence to lerne, but accordyng to the counsaile of Quintiliã, to be swetely allured therto, with prayses, and suche prayse gyftes as chyldren delyte in. And theyr fyrste letters to be paynted or lymned in a pleasaunt maner: wherein chyldren of gentyll courage haue moche delectation. And also there is no better allectiue to noble wyttes, than to induce them in to a contention with theyr inferiour companyons: they somtyme purposely suffryng the more noble children to vainquisshe, and as it were gyuynge to theym place and soueraynte, thoughe in dede the inferiour chyldren haue more lernynge. But there can be nothyng more conuement, than by lyttell and lyttell to trayne and exercyse theym in spekyng of latin: informyng them to know fyrste the names in latin of all thynges that come in syghte, and to name all the parties of theyr bodies: and gyuing them some what that they couete or desire in most gentyl maner, to teache theym to aske it agayne in latin. And yf by this meanes they maye be induced to vnderstande and speake latyne, it shall afterwarde be lesse greke to theym in a maner, to learne anye thyng, where they vnderstand the language, wherin it is wrytten. And as touchynge grammer, there is at this

day

daye better introductions, and moze facyle, than euer before were made, concernynge as wel both greke as latine.

¶ And it is no repzoche to a noble man, to instructe his owne chyldzen, oz at the leaste wayes, to examine them by the waye of daylyaunce oz solace, consyderynge that the emperour Octauius Augustus, disdayned not to rede the warkes of Cicero and Virgile, to his chyldzen and neuewes. And why should not noble men rather so do, than teache their chyldzen howe at dyse and cardes they maye cunyngly lese and consume their owne treasure and substaunce? Instruction in infancye.

¶ Moreouer, teachyng repzesenteth the auctozitie of a pzince. Wherfoze Dionise, king of Cicile, whan he was foz tiranny expelled by his people, he came into Italy, and there, in a commune schole taughte grammer: where with whan he was of his ennemyes embzayded, and called a schole mayster, he answered them, That although Sicilians had exyled hym, yet in despite of them all he reigned: notynge therby the auctozitie that he had ouer his scholers. Also whan it was of hym demanded, what auayled hym Plato, oz philosophy, wherin he had ben studyous, he answered, That they caused him to sustayn aduersitie pacyently, and made his exile to be to him moze facile and easy. whiche courage & wysedom considered of his people they eftsones restozed him vnto his realme, and Dionise the tirãt

and astate royal, where if he hadde procured agayne them hostilitie, or warres, or had returned into Sicile with any violence, I suppose the people wolde alwaye haue resisted and kepte hym in perpetual exile: as the Romaynes dyd the proude kynge Tarquine, whose sonne rauisshed Lucrece. But to retourne to my purpose.

¶ It shall be expedient, that a noble mannes sonne, in his infancye, haue with hym continually, onely suche, as maye accustome hym by lyttell and lyttell to speake pure and elegant latyn. Semblably the nourises and other women aboute hym, yf it be possyble, to do the same: or at the least waye, that they speke none englishe, but that, which is clene, polite perfectely, and articulately pronounced, omittyng no letter or sylable, as foly she women often tymes doo of a wantonnes, wherby dyuers noble menne, & gentylmens chyldren (as I do at this daye knowe) haue atteyned corrupte and foule pronuntiation. This industry vsed in fourming littel infantes, who shal dout, but that they (not lackyng naturall wyt) shal be apt to receyue lernyng, whan they come to mo yeres? And in this wyse maye they be instructed, without anye violence or inforsynge: vsyng the more parte of the tyme, vntil they come to the aege of. 7. yeres, in suche dysportes as do appertryne to chyldren, wherin is no resemblaunce or similitude of vyce.

¶ It

¶ At what age a tutour shulde be prouyded, and what apperteyneth to his office to do. Capi. vi.



After a chylde is come to seuen yeres of age, I holde it expediente, that he be taken from the company of women: sauyng that he maye haue one yere or two at the moste, an auncient and sad matrone attendyng on him in his chaumbre, whiche shall not haue any yonge woman in her company: For thoughe there be no peryll of offence in that tendre and innocent age, yet in some childzen nature is more prone to vice than to vertue, and in the tendre wittes be sparkes of voluptuositie: whiche nourisshed by any occasion or obiecte, encrease oftentymes in to so terrible a fyre, that therwith all vertue and reason is consumed. Wherfore to eschue that danger, the moste sure counsayle is, to withdrawe him from all company of women, and to assigne vnto him a tutor, whiche shulde be an auncient and worshypfull man, in whom is approued to be muche gentilnes, myxte with grauitie, and as nyghe as can be suche one, as the chylde, by imitation folowyng, maye growe to be excellente. And if he be also learned, he is the more commendable.

¶ Peleus the father of Achilles, committed

Phenix Achil. tutor.

the gouernance of his sonne to Phenix, whiche was a straunger borne: who as well in speakyng elegantly, as in doyng valiantely, was mayster to Achilles, as Homere sayth.

Alexander the great. Epaminondas tutor to kynge Philip.

¶ Howe muche profited it to kyng Philip, father to the greate Alexander, that he was deliuered in hostage to the Thebanes, where he was kepte and brought vp vnder the gouernaunce of Epaminondas, a noble and valiante capitayne, of whom he receyued suche learning, as wel in actes martial, as in other lyberall sciences, that he excelled all other kynges, that were before his tyme in Grece: and finally as wel by wysedome as prowes, subdued all that countrey.

Leonidas tutor to kyng Alexander

¶ Semblably he ordeyned for his sonne Alexander a noble tutor, called Leonidas, vnto whom for his wysedome, humanitie, and lerning, he committed the rule and preeminence ouer al the maysters and seruauntes of Alexander. In whom not withstandyng was suche a familier vyce, whiche Alexander apprehendyng in childhode, coulde neuer abandon, some suppose it to be fury and hastines, other superfluous drynkyng of wyne, whiche of them it were, it is a good warnyng for gentil men, to be the more serious, inserchyng not onely for the vertues, but also for the vices of them, vnto whose tuition and gouernaunce they wyll commytte theyr chyldren.

Office of a tutor.

¶ The office of a tutor is fyrste to knowe the nature of his pupill, that is to say, where to he

to he is moſte inclined or dyſpoſed, and in what thyng he ſetteth his moſte delectation or appetite. If he be of nature curteyſe, piteouſe, and of a free and liberall harte, it is a principall token of grace (as it is by all ſcripture determined) Than ſhall a wyſe tutor, purpoſely commend thoſe vertues, extolling alſo his pupill, for hauyng of them: and therwith he ſhall declare them to be of all menne moſte fortunate, whiche ſhal happen to haue ſuche a mayſter. And more ouer ſhall declare to him, what honour, what loue, what commoditie ſhal happen to him by theſe vertues. And if any haue bene of diſpoſition cõtrary, than to expreſſe the enormities of theyr vice, with as muche deteſtation as may be. And if any danger haue therby enſued, miſfortune, or puniſhemente, to agreue it in ſuche wyſe, with ſo vehement wordes, as the chyld may abhorre it, and feare the lyke aduenture.

¶ In what wiſe muſike may be to a noble man neceſſary: and what modeſtie ought to be therin. Cap. vii.

THe diſcretion of a tutor, conſiſteth in temperance: that is to ſay, that he ſuffre not the chylde to be fatigate with continual ſtudy or lerning, wherwith the delycate and tendre wytte may be dulled or oppreſſed: but that

there may be therwith enterlaced and myxte some pleasaunt learnyng, and exercise, as playeng on instrumentes of musike, whiche moderately vsed, and without diminution of honour, that is to say, without wanton countenaunce and dissolute gesture, is not to be contemned. For the noble kyng and prophet Dauid, kynge of Israel (whom almyghty god saide, he had chosen as a man according to his hart or desyre) duryng his lyfe, delited in musike: And with the swete armony, that he made on his harpe, he constrayned the euil spirite, that vexed kynge Saul, to forsake him, continuyng the tyme that he harped.

¶ The moste noble and valiant princis of Grece oftentymes, to recrete theyr spirites, and in augmentyng theyr courage, enbraced instrumentes musicall.

Achilles. Homer⁹ Iliades primo.

¶ Thus dyd the valiant Achilles (Homere sayeth) who after the sharpe and vehement contencion, betwene him and Agamemnon, for the takyng away of his concubine: wherby he being set in a fury, had slain Agamemnon, emperour of the Grekes army, had not Pallas the goddes withdrawen his hande. In whiche rage he all inflamed, departed with his peple to his owne shyppes, that lay at rode, intending to haue retourned into his countrey: but after he had taken to him his harpe (wheron he had lerned to play of Chiron the Centaure, whiche also taught hym feates of armes, with physicke and surgery)

Chiron.

and

and playeng theron, had songen the gestis and actis martiall of the auncient prynces of Greece, as Hercules, Perseus, Perithous, Theseus, and his cosin Jason, and of diuers other of semblable value and prowesse: he was therwith asswaged of his fury, and reduced in to his fyrst astate of reason: in suche wyse, that in redoubyng his rage, and that therby shulde not remaine to him any note of reproche, he reteinyng his fiers and sturdye countenaunce, so tempered him selfe, in the interteinemēt and answering the messagers, that came to him frō the residue of the Grekes, that they reputyng all that his fiers demeanour to be (as it were) a diuine maiestie, neuer embraided hym with any inordinate wrath or fury.

¶ And therfore the greate kyng Alexander, whan he had vainquished Ilion, where some tyme was set the moste noble citie of Troye, beyng demaunded of one, if he wolde se the harpe of Paris Alexander, who rauisshed Helene, he there at gentilly smylyng, answered. It was not the thyng that he muche desyred, but had rather se the harpe of Achilles, wherto he sange, not the illecebrous dilectations of Venus, but the valyant actes and noble affaires of excellent princis. Alexanders musyke.

¶ But in this commendation of musyke, I wolde not be thought to allure noble men, to haue so muche delectatiō therin, that in playeng and syngyng onely, they shulde put their

Vnlike re prouable.

hole study and felicitie: As dyd the emperour Nero, whiche all a longe somers day wolde syt in the Theatre (an open place where all the people of Rome behelde solemne actes and playes) and in the presence of all the noble men and senatours, wolde playe on hys harpe and syng without ceasyng. And if any man hapened by longe settyng to slepe, or by any other countenaunce, to shewe him selfe to be wery, he was sodeynely bobbed on the face by the seruantes of Nero, for that purpose attendyng. Or if any person were perceyued to be absent, or were sene to laugh at the foly of the emperour, he was forthwith accused, as it were of mispryson, wherby the emperour founde occasion to commyt hym to pryson, or to put him to tortures. O what misery was it, to be subiecte to suche a mynstrell, in whose musyke was no melody but anguyshe and dolour?

Theatre.

Musyke miserable.

¶ It were therfore better, that no musyke were taught to a noble man, than by the exacte knowledge therof, he shulde haue therin inordinate delyte: and by that be allected to wantonnes, abandonyng grauitie and the necessary cure and office in the publike weal to hym commytted.

Kyng Philippis wordes to Alexander.

¶ Kynge Philip, whan he hearde that his sonne Alexander dyd syngе swetely and properly, rebuked hym gentyly, sayeng, But Alexander, be ye not ashamed, that ye can syng so wel and conningly? wherby he ment, that

the

the open profession of that crafte was but of a base estimation. And that it suffised a noble man, hauyng therin knoweledge, eyther to vse it secretely, for the refreshyng of his wytte, whan he hath time of solace: ozels only heryng the contention of noble musicions, to gyue iudgement in the excellencie of theyr cunnynges. These be the causes, wherunto hauyng regarde, muslyke is not onely tollerable, but also cõmendable. For as Aristotle sayeth: Muslike in the olde tyme was numbred among sciences, for asmuche as nature seketh not onely, howe to be in busynes well occupyed, but also howe in quyetnes to be commendably dyspoced.

Muslyke profitable.

¶ And if the chylde be of a perfecte inclinacion and towardnes to vertue, and very aptly dispoced to this science, and ryply dothe vnderstande the reason and concordance of tunes, the tutors office shall be, to persuade hym, to haue principally in remembraunce his astate, whiche maketh him exempt from the libertie of vsyng this science in euery tyme and place: that is to say, that it onely serueth for recreation, after tedious or laborious affaires. And to shewe him, that a gentil man playeng or syngyng in a commune audience, appayreth his estimation: The people forgettyng reuerence, whan they beholde hym in similitude of a common seruaunt or mynstrel. Yet notwithstandyng, he shal commende the perfecte vnderstãdyng of muslike,

declaryng howe necessary it is for the better attaynynge to the knowledge of a publyke weale, whiche as I before sayde, is made of an order of estates and degrees, and by reasō therof conteyneth in it a perfecte harmony: whiche he shall afterwarde more perfectely vnderstande, whan he shall happen to rede the bokes of Plato and Aristotle of publike weales, wherin be wrytten dyuers examples of musike and gemetry. In this fourme may a wyse and circumspecte tutor, adapte the pleasant science of musike to a necessary and laudable purpose.

That it is cōmendable in a gentylman to paynt and kerue exactly, if nature ther to doth induce him. Cap. viii.

IF the chylde be of nature inclyned (as many haue bene) to peynte with a penne, or to fourme images in stoone or tree: he shuld not be therfrom withdrawen, or nature be rebuked, whiche is to him beniuolent: but puttyng one to him, whiche is in that crafte, wherin he delyteth, moste excellente, in vacant tymes from other more serious learnyng, he shulde be in the moste pure wyse enstructed in paynting or keruing. And nowe perchance some enuious reder wyl her of take occasion to scorne me, sayeng, that I had

hadde wel lyked me, to make of a noble man, a maſon or peynter. And yet yf eyther ambition or voluptuouſe idelnes wolde haue ſuffered that reder to haue ſene hyſtoryes, he ſhuld haue founden excellent princis, as well in payntyng as in keruyng, equall to noble artificers: Such were Claudius Titus, the ſonne of vaſpaſian, Hadriane, both Antonines, and dyuers other emperours and noble princis: whoſe warkes of long tyme remayned in Rome and other cytes, in ſuche places, where all men mought beholde them: as monumentes of theyr excellent wittes & vertuous occupation, in eſchewyng of ydelnes.

¶ And not without a neceſſarye cauſe, princis were in theyr chyldhode ſo inſtructed: for it ſerued theym afterwarde for deuyſing of ingynes for the warre: or for makyng them better, that be all redye deuyſed. For as Vitruuius (whiche wryteth of buyldyng to the emperour Auguſtus) ſaith: All turmentes of warre, whiche we call ingyns, were fyrſt inuented by kynges or gouernours of hoſtes: or if they were deuyſed by other, they were by them made moche better.

¶ Alſo by the feate of portraiture or paynteyng, a capitaine maye diſcriue the countrey of his aduerſary, wherby he ſhal eſchew the daungerous paſſages with his hoſte or nauie: alſo perceyue the placis of aduauntage, the forme of embatayling of his ennemyes, the ſituation of his campe, for his moſt ſure-

tie, the strengthe or weakenes of the towne or fortresse, whiche he intendeth to assaulte. And that, whiche is most specially to be considered, in vilitynge his owne dominions, he shall sette them out in figure, in suche wyse, that at his eie shall appere to hym, where he shall employ his study and treasure, as well for the soufegarde of his countrey, as for the commodite and honour therof, hauyng at al tymes in his syght the suretye and feblenes, auancement and hinderance of the same. And what pleasure and also vtilytie is to a man, whyche intendeth to edifye, hym selfe to expresse the figure of the warke that he purposeth; accordyng as he hath conceyued it in his owne fantasie, wherin by often amending & correcting, he finally shal so perfect the warke vnto his purpose, that there shal neyther ensue anye repentaunce, nor in the employment of his money he shall be by other dysceyued.

¶ Moreouer the feate of portrayture shall be an alective to euerye other studye or exercise. For the wit therto disposed, shal alway coueite congruent matter, wherin it maye be occupyed. And whan he happeneth to rede or here any fable or history, forthwith he apprehendeth it more desirously, and reteyneth it better than any other, that lacketh the sayde feate: by reason that he hath founde matter apte to his fantasy. Finally euery thing that pxtraiture maye comprehend, wyl be to him delectable to rede or here. And where the lyuely

ucly spirite, & that whiche is called the grace of the thing, is perfectely expressed, that thing more perswadeth & stereth the beholder, & sooner instructeth hym, than the declaration in wryting or speakyng doth the reder or herer. Experiẽce we haue therof in lernyng of geometry, astronomye, & cosmography, called in englysshe the description of the worlde. In whiche studyes I dare affyrme, a man shall more profite in one wike by figures and cartis well and perfectely made, than he shal by the onely redyng or heryng the rules of that scyẽce, by the space of halfe a yere at the lest. Wherfore the late wryters deserue no small commendation, whiche added to the autors of those sciences apte and propre figures.

¶ And he that is perfectely instructed in portrayture, and hapneth to rede any noble & excellent historie, wherby his courage is inflamed to the imitation of vertue, he forthwith taketh his pen or pensyl, & with a graue and substanciall studye, gatheryng to hym all the partes of imagination, endeuoureth himselfe to expresse lyuelye, and (as I mought saye) actually in portrayture, not onely the faicte or affaire, but also the sondrye affections of euery personage in the historie recited, which moughte in any wyse appere or be perceyued in theyr vysage, contenance, or gesture: with lyke dyligence, as Lysippus made in mettall kyng Alexander, fyghtyng & struggling with a terryble lyon of incomparable magnitude

and

and fiercenes: whom, after longe and dyffycult batayle, with wonderfull strengthe and cleane myght, at the laste he ouerthrewe and vainquished. Wherin he so expressed the similitude of Alexander, and of his lordes standyng about hym, that they all semed to lyue. Among whom the prowes of Alexander appered excellyng all other, the residue of his lordes after the value and estimation of their courage, euery man set out in such forwardnes, as they than semed more prompte to the helpyng of theyr maister, that is to saye, one lasse aferd than an other.

Phidias. ¶ Phidias the Athenience, whom all wryters do commende, made of yuory the simulachre or ymage of Jupiter, honoured by the gentyles, on the hyghe hylle of Olympus: whiche was done so excellently that Pandenus, a counynge paynter therat admaruaylyng, required the craftis man, to shewe him where he had the example, or paterne of soo noble a warke. Than Phidias answered, that he hadde taken it out of thre verses of Homere the poete: the sentence wherof ensueth as wel as my poore wytte can expresse it in englische.

Than Jupiter, the father of them all
Therto assented with his browes blacke,
Shaking his heare, & therwith dyd let fal
A coũtenãce, that made all heuen to quake.

¶ Where it is to be noted, that Thetis the mother of Achilles, desired Jupiter to incline his

his fauour to the part of the Troians.

¶ Nowe (as I haue before sayd) I intende not by these examples, to make of a prynce or noble mannes sonne a commune paynter or keruer, which shal present him selfe openly, stayned or embrued with sondry colours, or poudered with the duste of stones that he tutteth, or perfumed with tedyous sauours of the metalles by hym yoten. But verily myne intente and meanynge is onely, that a noble chylde, by his owne naturall dispositiõ, and not by coertion, may be induced, to receyue perfecte instruction in these sciences.

¶ What exacte diligence shoulde be in chosynge maysters. Capitulo. ix.

After that the chyld hath be pleasantly trayned and induced to knowe the partes of speche, and can seperate one of them from an other, in his owne language, It shall than be tyme, that his tutour or gouernour do make diligent serche for suche a maysteras is excellentely learned bothe in greke and latyne, and therwithal is of sobre and vertuous dyspositiõ, specially chast of lyuyng, and of moche affabilitie and patience: leste by anye vncleane example the tender mynde of the chylde maye be infected, harde afterwarde to be recouered. For the natures

natures of chyldren be not so moche or sone aduaunced by thynges wel doone or spoken, as they be hyndred and corrupted by that, whyche in actes or wordes is wantonly expressed. Also by a cruel and irous maister, the wyttes of children be dulled: and that thyng, for the whiche chyldrē be often tymes beten, is to them euer after fastidious, wherof we nede no better auctor for wytnes, than dayly experience. Wherfore the moost necessarye thinges to be obserued by a maister in his disciples or scholers (as Licon the noble gramarien sayd) is shamfastnes and prayse. By shamefastnes, as it were with a baydell, they rule as well theyr dedes, as theyr appetites. And desyre of praise addeth to a sharp spurre to theyr dysposition towarde learnynge and vertue. Accordyng there vnto Quintilian instructyng an oratour, desireth suche a chylde to be gyuen vnto hym, whom commendation feruently stereth, glory prouoketh, and being vainquisshed, wepeth. That chylde (sayth he) is to be fedde with ambition, him a lyttel chydyng sore biteth, in him no part of slouth is to be feared.

¶ And yf nature disposeth not the chyldes wytte to receyue learnyng, but rather otherwyse: it is to be applyed with more diligence & also policye, as cholyng some boke, whereof the argument or matter approcheth most nyghe to the chyldes inclination or fantasy, so that it be not extremely vicious, and therwith

with by lyttell and lyttell, as it were with a pleasaunt sauce, prouoke hym to haue good appetite to study. And surely that child, what so euer he be, is well blessed and fortunate, that fyndeth a good instructour or mayster. Whiche was cõsidered by noble kyng Philip, father to the great kyng Alexander, who immediately after his son was borne, wrote a letter to Aristotle, the prynce of philosophers, the tenour wherof ensueth.

The epistel of king Philip to Aristotel.

¶ Aristotle, we grete you well. Lettyng you wytte, that we haue a sonne borne, for the whiche we gyue our thankes vnto god, not for that he is borne onely, but also for as moche as it happeneth hym to be borne, your lyuing. Trustynge that it shall happen, that he by you taught and instructed, shal be hereafter worthy to be named our sonne, and to enioye the honour & substance that we nowe haue prouided. Thus fare ye wel.

¶ The same Alexander was wonte to saye opẽly, that he ought to gyue as great thãkes to Aristoble his mayster, as to kyng Philip his father, for of hym he toke the occasion to liue, of the other he receiued the reason & way to liue wel. And what maner a prince Alexãder was made by the doctrine of Aristotle, it shall appere in dyuers places of this boke: where his example to princis shal be declared

¶ The incomparable benefite of maysters haue ben well remembred of dyuers princis. In so moch as Marcus Antoninus, whiche among

among the emperours was commended for his vertue and sapyence, hadde his mayster Proculus (who taughte hym grammer) soo moche in fauour, that he aduaunced hym to be proconsul: whiche was one of the hyghest dygnyties among the Romaynes.

¶ Alexander the emperour caused his mayster Julius Fronto, to be consul: which was the highest office, and in a state nexte the emperour: and also opteyned of the senate, that the statue or image of Fronton was set vp amonge the noble princis.

¶ What caused Traiane to be soo good a prince (in so moche that of late dayes, whan an Emperour receiued his crowne at Rome, the people with a commune crye desyred of god, that he moughte be as good as was Traiane) but that he hapned to haue Plutarche, the noble phylosoper, to be his instructour?

¶ I agree me, that some be good of natural inclination to goodnes, but where good instruction and exaumple is therto added, the naturall goodnes muste there with nedes be amended, and be more excellent.

¶ What

¶What ordre shulde be in learnyng, and whiche auctours shulde be fyrste redde. Capitr. x.

NOwe let vs retourne to the ordre of learnyng apte for a gentyl mā. Wherin I am of Quintilias opinion, that I wolde haue hym lerne greke and latine authours both at one time, or els to begin with greke, for almuche as that is hardest to come by: by reason of the diuersitie of tungues, whiche be fyue in numbre, and all muste be knowen, or els vneth any poete can be well vnderstande. And if a chylde do begyn therin at seuen yeares of aege, he may continually learne greke auctours thre yeares, and in the meane tyme vse the latin tungue as a familiar language: whiche in a noble mannes son may well come to passe, hauyng none other persons to serue him or kepe him company, but suche as can speake latine elegantly. And what doubte is there? but so may he as sone speke good latine, as he may do pure frenche, whiche nowe is brought into as many rules and figures, and as longe a grammer, as is latine or greke. I wyll not contende, who amonge them, that do wryte grammers of greke (whiche nowe all moste be innumerable) is the beste: but that I referre to the discretion of a wyse mayster. Alway I wolde

The fyrste learnyng in chyldhode.

aduyse hym, not to deteine the chylde to long in that tedious labours, eyther in the greke or latin grammer. For a gentyll wyt is there with sone fatigate.

¶ Grammer, beyng but an introduction to the vnderstandyng of autours, if it be made to long or exquisite to the lerner, it in a maner mortifieth his courage: And by that tyme he cometh to the most swete and pleasant reding of olde auctours, the sparkes of feruent desyre of lernyng is extincte, with the burdone of grāmer, lyke as a litle fire is sone quēched with a great heape of smale stickes: so that it can neuer come to the pyncipal logges, wher it shulde longe burne in a great pleasant fire.

¶ Nowe to folowe my pourpose. After a fewe and quicke rules of grammer, immediately, or interlasing it therwith, wolde be red to th chylde, Esopes fables in Greke: in whiche argument chyldren muche delite. And surely it is a muche pleasaunte lesson, and also profitable, as well for that it is elegante and breue (and not withstandyng it hathe muche varietie in wordes, and therwith muche helpeth to the vnderstandyng of greke) as also in those fables is included muche morall and politike wysedome. Wherfore in the teachyng of them, the maister diligently muste gather together those fables, whiche may be moste accommodate to the aduauncemente of some vertue, wherto he perceiueth the child inclyned: or to the rebuke of some vyce, wherto he

Esopes fables.

he fyndeth his nature disposed. And therin the maister ought to exercyse his wyt, as wel to make the chylde playnely to vnderstande the fable, as also declaring the signification therof compendiously, and to the purpose. Fore scene alway, that as well this lesson as all other auctours, whiche the chylde shall learne, eyther greke or latin, verse or prose, be perfectly had without the boke: whereby he shall not onely atteyne plenty of the tunges called Copie, but also encrease and noursche remembrance wonderfully.

¶ The nexte lesson wold be some quicke and merry dialoges, electe out of Luciane, whiche be without ribaudry, or to muche scornyng: for eyther of them is exactely to be eschued, specially for a noble man, the one anoyeng the soule, the other his estimation, cõcerning his grauitie. The.ii. lesson to childien Lucianus.

¶ The comedies of Aristophanes may be in the place of Luciane, and by reson they be in metre, they be the soner learned by harte. I dare make none other comparison betwene them, for offending the frendes of them both: but thus muche dare I say, that it were better, that a chylde shulde neuer rede any parte of Luciane, than all Luciane. Aristoph.

¶ I coulde reherse diuers other poetis, whi che for mater and eloquence, be very necessary, but I feare me to be to longe from noble Homere: from whom as from a fountayne, proceded al eloquence & learnyng. For in his Homerus.

bokes be conteyned, and moste perfectly expressed, not onely the documentes marciall and discipline of armes, but also incomparable wysedomes, and instructions for politike gouernance of people: with the worthy commendation and laude of noble princis, wherwith the readers shal be so all inflamed, that they moste feruently shal desyre and coueite, by the imitation of theyr vertues, to acquire semblable glory. For the whiche occasion Aristotle, moste sharpest witted, and excellente learned Philosopher, as sone as he had receiued Alexander from kyng Philip his father, before any other thyng taught him the moste noble warkes of Homere. Wherin Alexander founde suche swetenes and fruite, that euer after he had Homere, not only with him in all his iourneis, but also layde hym vnder his pillowe, whan he went to reste: and often tymes wolde purposely wake some houres of the nyght, to take as it were his pastetime with that moste noble poete. For by the reading of his warke, called Iliados, where the assembly of the mooste noble grekes agayne Troy is recyted, with theyr assayres, he gathered courage and strengthe agayne his enhemies, wisedome and eloquence for consultations and persuasions to his people and army. And by thother warke, called Odissea, whiche recounteth the sondry aduentures of the wyse Ulisses: he by the example of Ulisses, apprehended many noble vertues, and

also

also learned to eschape the fraude and deceitful imaginatiõs of sondry and subtile crafty wittes. Also there shall he learne to enserch and perceyue the maners and conditions of them that be his familiars, syfting out (as I mought say) the beste from the worst, wher by he may surely commyte his affayres and truste to euery persõ after his vertues. Therfore I nowe conclude, that there is no lesson for a yonge getyll man to be compared with Homere, if he be playnely and substancially expouned and declared by the mayster.

¶ Not withstandyng, for as muche as the sayde warkes be very longe, and do require therfore a greate tyme to be all learned and kanned: some latine auctour wolde be therwith myxte, and specially Virgile: whiche in his warke called Eneidos, is moste lyke to Homere, and all mooste the same Homere in latin. Also by the ioynyng together of those auctours, the one shall be the better vnderstande by the other. And verily (as I before sayde) no one auctour serueth to so dyuers wittes, as doth Virgile. For ther is not that affecte or desyre, wherto any chyldes fantasy is disposed, but in some of Virgils warkes may be founden matter therto apte and propise. For what thyng can be more familiar than his bucolikes: nor no warke soo nyghe approched to the commune dalyance and maners of chyldren, and the praty controuersies of the simple shepeherdes therin conteyned,

wonderfully reioyceth the chylde that hereth it well declared, as I knowe by myne owne experience. In his Georgikes, lord what pleasaunt varietie there is, the dyuers graynes, herbes, and flowres, that be there described, that redyng therin, it seuieth to a man to be in a delectable gardeyne or paradyse. What ploughe man knowethso muche of housbandry, as there is expressed: who deiytyng in good horsys, shall not be therto more enflamed, redyng there, of the bredyng, chesyng, and kepyng of thē? In the declaration wher of Virgile leaueth farre behynde hym all breders, hakney men, and scorsers. Is there any astronomer, that more exactly setteth out the ordre and course of the celestiall bodyes: or that more truely dothe deuine in his pronostications of the tymes of the yere, in theyr qualities, with the future astate of all thynges prouided by husebandry, than Virgile dothe recite in that warke?

¶ If the chylde haue a delyte in huntynge, what pleasure shall he take of the fable of Aristeus? semblably in the huntyng of Dido and Eneas, whiche is discriued mooste elegantly in his boke of Eneidos.

¶ If he haue pleasure in wrastlyng, renning, or other lyke exercise, where shall he see any more pleasant esbatementes, than that whiche was done by Eurealus and other troyans, whiche accompanied Eneas?

If

¶ If he take solace in hearyng mynstrelles, what mynstrell may be compared to Iopas, whiche sange before Dido and Eneas? or to blynde Demodocus, that played and sang moost sweetely at the dyner, that the kynge Alcinous made to Ulisses? whose dityes and melody excelled as farre the songes of our mynstrelles, as Homere and Virgile excell all other poetes.

¶ If he be more desyrous (as the most parte of chyldren be) to here thynges marueylous and exquisite, whiche hathe in it a vsage of some thynges incredyble: wherat shall he more wonder, than whan he shall beholde Eneas folowe Sibille into hell? what shalbe more drede, than the terrible vysages of Cerberus, Gorgon, Megera, and other furies and monsters? howe shall he abhorre tyrranny, fraude, and auarice, whan he dothe se the peynes of duke Theseus, Sisiphus, and suche other, tourmented for theyr dissolute and vicious lyuyng? Howe glad sone after shall he be, whan he shall beholde in the pleasante fieldes of Elisius, the soules of noble princis and capitaynes, whiche for theyr vertue and labours, in aduaunsing the publike wealthes of theyr countreys, doo lyue eternally in pleasure inexplyeable? And in the laste bokes of Eneiodes, shall he finde matter to minister to him audacitie, valiant courage & policie, to take & susteyne noble enterpises, if any shall be nedefull for the assayeyng of his enemyes.

Finally (as I haue sayd) this noble Virgile, lyke to a good nurise, gyueth to a chylde, if he wyll take it, euery thyng apte for his wyt and capacitie. Wherfore he is in the ordre of learnyng to be preferred before any other auctour latine.

¶ I wolde set nexte vnto him two bokes of Ouid, the one called Metamorphoseos, whiche is as muche to saye, as changyng of men into other fygure or fourme: the other is intytled De fastis: where the ceremonies of the gentyles, and specially the Romaynes, be expressed: bothe ryght necessary for the vnderstanding of other poetes. But by cause there is lytle other learnyng in them, concernynge eyther vertuous maners or policie, I suppose it were better that as fables and ceremonies happen to come in a lesson, to be declared abundantly by the maister, than that in the sayde two bokes, along tyme shulde be spente and almoste loste: whiche mought be better employed on suche auctours, that doo minister bothe eloquence, ciuile policie, and exhortation to vertue.

¶ Wherfore in his place, lette vs bryng in Horace, in whom is conteyned muche varietie of learnyng, and quickenesse of sentence. This poet may be enterlaced with the lesson of Odissea of Homere, wherin is declared the wonderful prudēce and fortitude of Ulisses, in his passage from Troy. And if the chylde were induced to make verses by the imitatiō

of

of Virgile and Homere, it shuld mynister to him moche delectation and courage to study: ne the makyng of versis is not discõmended in a noble man, sens the noble Augustus, and almost all the olde emperours made bokes in versis.

¶ The two noble poetis, Silius and Lucane, be very expedient to be lerned: for the one setteth out the emulatiõ in qualities and prowes of two noble and valyant capitaynes, one enmie to the other, that is to say, Silius writeth of Scipio the Romayn, and Hannibali, duke of Carthagmenlis: Lucane declareth a semblable matter, but moch more lamentable: for as moche as the warres were ciuile, and as it were in the bowelles of the Romayns, that is to say, vnder the standerdes of Julius Cesar and Pompei. Silius. Lucanus.

¶ Hesiodus in greeke, is more briefe than Virgile, where he writeth of husbãdry, and dothe not ryse so hyghe in philosophy, but is fuller of fables: And therefore is more ilegebouse.

¶ And here I conclude, to speake any more of poetes necessarye for the chyldehode of a gentyll man: for as moche as these (I dout not) wyll suffice, vntyll he passe the age of xiii. yeres. In whiche tyme chyldehode declineth, and reason waxeth rype, & apprehẽdeth thynges with a more constant iudgement.

¶ Here I wolde haue remembred, that I require not all these warkes to be throughly

red of a chylde in this tyme, whiche were almoste impossible: But I onely desyre, that they haue in euery of the sayde bokes so muche instruction, that they may take thereby some profyt. Than the chyldes courage inflamed by the frequente reding of noble poetes, dayly moze and moze desireth to haue experience in those thynges, that they so vehemētly do commende in them, that they wryte of.

Poetis defended and vsayed.

¶ Leonidas, the noble kynge of Spartanes beyng onces demaunded, of what estimation in poetry Tirtaeus (as he supposed) was: it is wrytten, that he answeryng sayde. That for steryng the mindes of ponge men, he was excellent, for as muche as they beyng meued with his verses do renne into the battayle, regardyng no peryll, as men all inflamed in martiall courage.

¶ And whan a man is comen to rype yeres, and that reason in hym is confirmed with serious learnynge and longe experience: than shall he, in readynge tragedies execrate and abhorre the intollerable lyfe of tyrantes: And shall contemne the foly and dotage, expressed by poetes lasciuious.

¶ Here wyll I leaue to speake of the fyrste parte of a noble mans study: And wyll wryte of the seconde parte, whiche is moze serious, and cōteineth in it sondry maners of lerning.

The

¶ The moste commodious and necessary studies succedyng ordinatly the lesson of poetes. Cap. xi.

After .xiiii. yeres be passed of a chyldes age: his master, if he canne, or some other, studiously exercised in the arte of an oratour, shal first rede to hym somewhat of that parte of logike, that is called Topica, either of Cicero, Logike Topica. or elles of that noble clerke of Almayn, which late floured, called Agricola: whose warke prepareth inuention, tellyng the places, from whens an argumente, for the proffe of any mater, maye be taken with lyttell study. And that lesson with moche and diligent lernyng, haunge myxte therwith none other exercise, wyll in the space of halfe a yere be perfectely kanned.

¶ Immedyately after that, the arte of Rhetorike Rhetorike. wolde be semblably taught, eyther in greke out of Hermogines, or of Quintilian in latin, begynnyng at the thyrd boke, and instructyng dylygently the chylde in that parte of rhetorike principally, whiche concerneth persuasion: for as muche as it is moste apte for consultation. There can be no shorter instruction of Rhetorike, than the treatise that Tully wrote vnto his sonne, whiche boke is named the partition of Rhetorike.

Jnu

¶And in good fayth, to speake boldly that I thynke, for hym that nedeth not, or dothe not desyre to be an exquisite orator, the lytell booke, made by the famous Erasmus (whom all gentyl wittes ar bouden to thāke and support) which he calleth Copiam verborum & Rerum, that is to say, Plentie of wordes and matters, shall be sufficient.

Erasmus.

¶Isocrates, concernynge the lesson of oratours, is euery where wonderful profitable, hauyng almoste as many wyse sentences as he hath wordes, and with that is soo swete and delectable to rede, that after hym almoste all other seme vnsauery and tedious: and in perswading as wel a prince as a priuate person to vertue, the two very lyttell and compendious warkes, wherof he made the one to kyng Nicocles, the other to his frend Demonicus, wolde be perfectly kanned and had in continuall memory.

¶Demosthenes and Tulli, by the consente of all lerned men, haue preeminence and souerayntie ouer all oratours: the one reigning in wonderful eloquence in the publike weale of the Romaynes, who had the empire and dominion of all the worlde: the other of noo lesse estimation in the Citie of Athenes, whiche of longe tyme was accounted the mother of Sapience, and the palaice of musis and all liberal sciences. Of which two oratours may be attayned, not onely eloquence excellent and perfect, but also preceptes of wyse-

dome

dome and gentyll maners: with moste commodious examples of all noble vertues and policye. Wherfore the mayster in readynge them, must well obserue and expresse the partes and colours of rhetoryke in them conteined, accordyng to the preceptes of that arte before lerned. The vtilitie that a noble man shall haue by readyng these oratours is, that whan he shall happe to reason in counsayle, or shall speake in a greatte audience, or to strange ambassadours of great pryncis: he shal not be constreyned to speake wordes losdayne and dyscordyed, but shall bestow them aptly and in theyr places. wherfore the moste noble emperour Octauius is hyghly cõmended, for that he neuer spake in the senate, or to the people of Rome, but in an oration prepared and purposely made. Octauius.

¶Also to prepare the chylde to vnderstandyng of hystories, whiche being replenished with the names of countreyes and townes vnknowen to the reder, doo make the hystorie tedious, or els the lesse pleasant, so yt they be in any wyse knowen, it encreaseth an inexplicable delectation. It shalbe therfore, and also for refreshyng the wytte, a conuement lesson, to behold the olde tables of Ptolomer, wherin al the world is painted, hauyng fyrst some introduction into the sphere, whereof nowe of late be made verye good treatises, and more playne and easy to lerne than was wont to be. All be it there is none so good learnyng Cosmographye and the commoditie therof

learnyng, as the demonstration of cosmographie, by materyal fygures and instrumentes, hauyng a good instructour. And surely thys lesson is bothe pleasaunte and necessary. For what pleasure is it, in one houre to beholde those realmes, cities, seas, ryuers, and fountaynes, that vneth in an olde mannes life cannot be iournayed: what incredible delyte is taken in beholdyng the diuersities of people, beastes, fowles, fyshes, trees, fruites, and herbes: To knowe the sondry maners and condition of people, and the varietie of theyr natures, and that in a warme studye or parler, without peryll of the sea, or daunger of long and paynfull iourneys: I can not tell, what more pleasure shuld happen to a gentyl wyt, thā to behold in his owne house euery thyng that within all the worlde is conteyned.

¶ The cōmoditie therof knewe the greate kyng Alexander, as some wryters do remembre. For he caused the countrayes, wherunto he purposed any enterpryse, diligentely and cunnyngly to be discribed and paynted, that beholdyng the pycture, he mought perceyue, whiche places were moste daungerous, and where he and his hoste mought haue mooste easy and conuenable passage.

¶ Semblably dyd the Romaynes in the rebellion of Fraunce, and the insurrection of theyr confederates, settyng vp a table openly, wherin Italy was paynted, to the intent that the people lokynge in it, shulde reason and

and consulte, in whiche places, it were beste to reculle or inuade theyr ennemies.

¶ I omyt for length of the matter, to wryte of Cirus, the greate kyng of Perse, Crassus the Romayn, and dyuers other valiant and experte capitaynes, whiche haue loste them selfes and al theyr army by ignorance of this doctrine. Wherefore it may not be of anye wyse man denyed, but that Cosmographye is to all noble men, not onely pleasaunte but profitable also, and wonderfull necessary.

¶ In the parte of Cosmographie, wherwith hystorye is mingled, Strabo reygneth, whiche toke his argument of the diuine poete Homere. Strabo.

¶ Also Strabo hym selfe (as he sayeth) laboured a great parte of Africa and Aegypt, where vndoubtedly be many thynges to be maruayled at.

¶ Solinus wryteth almoste in lyke forme, and is more bryefe, and hath muche more varietie of thynges and matters, and is therfore maruaylous delectable. Yet Mela is muche shorter, and his style (by reason that it is of a more antiquitie) is also more clene and facile. Wherfore he, or Dionisius shall be sufficient. Solinus. Mela. Dionisius

¶ Cosmographie beyng substantially perceyued, it is than tyme to induce a chylde to the redyng of hystories. But fyrste to set him in a feruent courage, the maister in the moste plea-

Hystories and the fourme in redyng of them.

pleasant and elegant wyse, expressyng what incomparable delectation, vtilitie, and commoditie shall happen to emperours, kynges, princis, and all other gentyl men, by reading of hystories: Shewing to hym, that Demetrius Phalareus, a man of excellent wysedome and learnyng, and whiche in Athenes, had ben longe exercised in the publike weale exhorted Ptholomee kyng of Aegypt, chiefly aboue al other studies to haunt and embrace hystories, and such other bokes, wherin were conteyned preceptes made to kyngis and princis, saying, That in them he shulde reade those thynges, whiche no man durste reporte vnto his person.

¶ Also Cicero, father of the latin eloquence calleth an hystory the wytnes of tymes, maistresse of lyfe, the lyfe of remembraunce, of truthe the lyght, and messager of antiquitie.

¶ Moreouer, the sweete Isocrates exhorteth the kyng Nicocles, whom he instructeth to leaue behynde hym statues and ymages that shall represent rather the fygure and similitude of his mynde, than the features of his body, signifieng therby the remembrance of his actes wrytten in hystories.

¶ By semblable aduertisementes shal a noble harte be trayned to delyte in hystories. And than according to the counsayl of Quintilian, it is best that he begynne with Titus Liuius, not onely for his eleganeye of wrytyng, which floweth in him lyke a fountayn

Titus Liuius.

tayne of swete mylke, but also for as muche as by redyng that auctour, he may knowe, howe the most noble citie of Rome of a smal and poze begynnyng, by prowes and vertue, lytle and lytle came to the empire and dominion of all the worlde.

¶ Also in that citie he may behold the forme of a publike weale, whiche if the insolencie and pryde of Tarquine had not excluded kynges out of the citie, had bene the moste noble and perfecte of all other.

¶ Xenophon, beyng both a philosopher, and an excellent capitaine, so inuented and ordred his warke, named Pædia Cyri, whiche may be interpreted the chyldehode or discipline of Cyrus, that he leaueth to the readers therof an incomparable swetenes and example of lyuyng, specially for the conductyng and wel orderyng of hostes or armies. And therfore the noble Scipion, who was called Affricanus, as well in peace as in warre, was neuer sene without this boke of Xenophon. Xenophō.

¶ With hym may be ioyned Quintus Curtius, who writeth the lyfe of kyng Alexander, elegantly and swetely. In whom maye be founden the fygure of an excellent prince, as he that incomparably excelled al other kinges and emperours in wysedome, hardynes, strength, policy, agilitie, valyant courage, nobilitie, liberalitie, and courtaisy. Wherin he was a spectakle or marke for all prynces to looke on. Contrary wyse, whan he was Quintus Curtius.

ones vanquyſſhed with voluptie and pryde, his tyranny and beaſtly crueltie abhorreth al readers. The compariſon of the vertues of theſe two noble princis, equally deſcribed by two excellent writers, wel expreſſed, ſhall pro voke a gentyll courage, to contende to fo lowe theyr vertues.

Ceſar. Ualuſt. The Julius Ceſar and Ualuſt, for theyr com pendious wrytinge, to the vnderſtandynge wherof, is required an exact and perfect iuge ment, and alſo for the exquiſite order of bat tayle, and contynuyng of the hiſtory, with out any varietie, wherby the peyne of ſtudy ſhulde be alleuiate, they two wolde be reſer ued, vntyll he that ſhall rede theym, ſhall ſee ſome experience in ſemblable matters. And than ſhall he finde in them ſuch pleaſure and commoditie, as therwith a noble and gentyll harte ought to be ſatisfied. For in them both it ſhall ſeme to a man, that he is preſent and hereth the counſailes and exhortations of ca pitaynes, whiche be called Conciones, and that he ſeeth the order of hoſtes, whan they be embattayled, the fierce aſſautes and en countringes of bothe armyes, the furiouſe rage of that monſter called warre. And he ſhall wene that he heareth the terrible dintes of ſundry weapons, and ordynance of bat tayle, the conducte and policies of wyſe and experte capitaines, ſpecially in the commen taries of Julius Ceſar, whiche he made of his exploiture in Fraunce and Brytayn, and

other

other countreys nowe reckened amonge the prouinces of Germany. Whiche boke is studiously to be redde of the princis of this realme of Englande, and theyr counsaylours: consyderyng that thereof may be taken necessarye instructions concernyng the warres agaynst Ieyllhe men or Scottes: who be of the same rudenes and wyld disposition, that the Swiles and Britons were in the tyme of Cesar.

¶ Semblable vtilitie shal be founden in the hystorie of Titus Liuius, in his thyrde Deades, where he writeth of the bateyles, that the Romaynes had with Anniball and the Charthaginenses.

¶ Also there be dyuers orations, as well in all the bokes of the sayd auctours, as in the hystorie of Cornelius Tacitus, which be very delectable, and for counsayles very expedient to be had in memory. Cornelius Tacitus.

¶ And in good faith I haue often thought, that the consultations and orations, written by Tacitus, do import a maiestie, with a cōpendious eloquence therin conteyned.

¶ In the learnyng of these auctours, a yong gentyll man, shall be taught to note & marke, not onely the ordre and elegancy, in declaration of the hystory, but also the occasion of the warres, the counsailes and preparations on eyther parte, the estymation of the cappytaynes, the maner and fourme of theyr gouernance, the continuance of the batayle, the

fortune & successe of the holle assayres. & emblably out of the warres, in other dayly assayres, the astate of the publyke weale, yf it be prosperous or in decay, what is the verye occasion of the one or of the other, the forme and maner of the gouernāce therof, the good and yuell qualities of theym that be rulers, the cōmodities and good sequele of vertue, the discommodities and yuell conclusyon of vicious lycence.

¶ Surely if a noble man do thus seriously and diligently rede hystories, I dare affirme, there is no study or science for hym of equall cōmoditie and pleasure, hauynge regarde to euery tyme and age.

Moral philosophy.

¶ By the tyme that the chylde doth come to xvii. yeres of age, to the intent his courage be bryded with reasone, it were nedefull to rede vnto hym some warkes of philosophy, specially that parte that maye enforme hym vnto vertuous maners, whiche part of philosophye is called moralle. Wherfore there wolde be redde to hym for an introduction, two the fyrst bokes of the wark of Aristotle called Ethicę. wherin is conteined the definitions & proper significatiōs of euery vertue, and that to be learned in greke, for the translations that we yet haue, be but a rude and grosse shadowe of the eloquence and wysedome of Aristotle.

Tullies offices.

¶ Forthewith wolde folowe the warke of Cicero, called in latine De officiis, wherunto

to yet is no propre englysshe worde to be gyuen, but to prouyde for it some maner of exposition, it may be sayde in this fourme, Of the dueties and maners appertaining to mē.

¶ But aboue all other, the warkes of Plato wolde be most studiously redde, whan the iugement of a man is come to perfection, and by the other studies is instructed in the forme of speakynge that philosophers vsed. Lorde god, what incomparable swetenesse of wordes and matter shal he fynd in the sayd warkes of Plato and Cicero, wherin is ioyned grauitie with delectation, excellent wysedom with diuine eloquence, absolute vertue with pleasure incredible, and euery place is so infarced with profitable cōsayle, ioyned with honesty, that those thre bokes be almost sufficient to make a perfecte and excellente gouernour. Plato.

¶ The prouerbes of Salomō, with the bokes of Ecclesiastes and Ecclesiasticus, be very good lessons.

¶ All the hystoriall partes of the Bible, be ryghte necessarye for to be redde of a noble man, after that he is mature in yeres. And the residue (with the new testament) is to be reuerentely touched, as a celestiall iewell or relyke, hauynge the chief interpreter of those bokes, true and constāt faith, and dredefully to sette handes thereon, remembrynge that Oza, for putting his hand to the holy shryne, that was called Archafederis, whan it was

 brought

brought by kynge Dauid frome the citie of Gaba, though it were waueryng and in danger to falle, yet was he stryken of god, and fell dead immediatly.

¶ It wolde not be forgotten, that the lyttell boke of the most excellent doctour Erasmus Roter. (whiche he wrote to Charles, nowe being emperour, and than prince of Castile) whiche boke is intituled, the Institution of a christen prince, wold be as familiare alway with gentylmen, at all tymes and in euerye age, as was Homere with the greate kynge Alexander, or Xenophon with Scipio. For as al men may iuge that haue red the warke of Erasmus, there was neuer boke written in latine, that in so lytell a portion conteyned of sentence, eloquence, and vertuous exhortation, a more compendious abundance.

Erasmus of the institution of a christen prince.

¶ And here I make an ende of the learning and study, wherby noble men maye attayne to be worthy to haue auctoritie in a publyke weale.

¶ Alwaye I shall exhorte tutours and gouernours of noble chyldren, that they suffre them not, to vse ingurgitations of meate or drynke, ne to sleape moche, that is to say, aboue. viii. houres at the moste. For vndoutedly, bothe repletion and superfluous slepe be capital ennemies to study, as they be semblably to healthe of body and soule.

¶ Aulus Gellius saythe, that chyldren, yf they vse to eate and slepe ouermoch, be made ther-

therwith dull to learne. And we se, that ther of slownes is taken, and the chyldrens personages do waxe vnconiely, and growe lesse in stature. Galene wylle not permytte, that pure wyne, without alay of water, shulde in any wyse be gyuen to chyldren, for as moche as it humecteth the bodye, or maketh it moyster and hotter, than is conuenient: also it fylleth the head with fume, in theym specially, whyche be lyke, as chyldren of hotte and moyste temperature. These be wel nigh the wordes of the noble Galene.

¶ Why gentylmen in this present tyme, be not equall in doctrine to the auncient noble men. Cap. xii.

NOwe wyll I somewhat declare of the chefe cauſes, why in our tyme noble men be not as excellēt in lerning, as they were in olde tyme amonge the Romaynes and Grekes. Surely as I haue diligētly marked in daily experience, the principall cauſes be theſe: The pryde, auarice, and negligence of parentes, and the lacke or fewenes of ſufficient mayſters or teachers. ¶ As I ſayd, Pryde is the fyrſt cauſe of this inconuenience. For of thoſe persons be some whiche without shame dare affirme, that to a great gentylman, it is a notable reproche,

to bē wel lerned, & to bē called a great clerke: which name they accoūt to be of so base estimation, that they neuer haue it in theyr mouthes, but whan they speke any thing in derision. Which perchance they wold not do, if they had ones leyser to rede our own cronicle of England, where they shal fynd, that king Henry the fyrste, sonne of Wylliam conquerour, and one of the most noble prīcis that euer reigned in this realme, was openly called Henry beau clerke, whiche is in englysshe, fayre clerke, and is yet at this day so named. And whether that name be to his honour, or to his reproche, lette theym iudge, that doo rede, and compare his lyfe with his two brethern, Wylliam, called Rouse, and Robert le courtoyse, they bothe not hauynge semblable learnynge with the sayde Henry, the one for his dyssolute lyuynge and tyrannye, beynge hated of all his nobles and people, fynally was sodeynly slayne by the shot of an arrow, as he was huntyng in a forest, whiche to make larger, and to gyue his deere more libertie, dyd cause the houses of .lii. parisshes, to be pulled down, the people to be expelled, and all being desolate, to be turned in to desert, and made only pasture for beastes sauage. Which he wold neuer haue done, if he had so moch delyted in good lernynge, as dyd his brother. The other brother, Robert le Curtoyse, beyng duke of Normandy, & the eldest sonne of Wylliam Conquerour, all be it that

Hēry beau clerke king of Englād.

ft that he was a manne of moche prowesse, and right expert in martiall assayres, wherfore he was elected before Godfray of Boloigne, to haue ben kyng of Hierusalem: yet not withstandynge, whan he inuaded this realme with sondry puissaunt armies, also dyuers noble men aydynge hym, his noble brother Henry beau clerke, more by wysedome than power, also by learnyng, addyng policie to vertue & courage, oftentymes vanquished him, and did put hym to flyght. And after sundry victories, fynally toke hym and kept hym in prison, hauing none other meanes to kepe his realme in tranquillitie.

¶ It was for no rebuke, but for an excellent honor, that the emperour Antonine was surnamed philosopher, for by his mooste noble example of lyuyng and industry incomparable, he during all the tyme of his reigne, kept the publike weale of the Romaynes in suche a perfecte astate, that by his actes he confirmed the sayinge of Plato, That blessed is that publike weale, wherein eyther philosophers do reigne, or els kynges be in philosophy studiouse.

¶ These persons, that so moche contempne learnynge, that they wolde that gentylmens chyldren shulde haue no parte or very lyttell therof, but rather shulde spende theyr youth alway (I say not in onely in huntynge and haukyng, whiche moderately vsed, as solaces ought to be, I intende not to dispraise)

but in thoseydle pastimes, which for the vice that is therein, the commaundement of the prynce. and the vniuersal consent of the people, expressed in statutes & lawes, do prohybite, I meane playeng at dyce and other games named vnlefull. These personnes I say I wolde shuld remembre, ozelles now lerne, yf they neuer elles harde it, that the noble Philyp, kyng of Macedonia, who subdued all Grece, about all the good foztunes that euer he hadde, most reioysed, that his sonne Alexander was borne in the tyme that Aristotle the philosopher flouryssched, by whose instruction he mought attayne to moofte excellent lernynge.

¶ Also the same Alexaunder often tymes sayde, That he was equally as moche bounden to Aristotle, as to his father kyng Philip, for of his father he receyued lyfe, but of Aristotle he receyued the way to lyue nobly.

¶ Who dyspraysed Epaminondas, the moste valyaunt capitayne of Thebanes, for that he was excellentely lerned and a greatte phylosopher?

¶ Who euer discommended Julius Cesar for that he was a noble oratour, and nexte to Tully in the eloquence of the latin toungue, excelled all other?

¶ Who euer reproued the emperour Hadriane, for that he was so exquisitly learned, not onely in greke and latine, but also in all sciences liberall, that openly at Athenes, in the

the vniuersal assembly of the gretteſt clerkes of the woꝛlde, he by a longe tyme dyſputed with phyloſophers and Rhetoꝛicyens, whiche were eſtemed mooſte excellent and by the iugemente of them that were pꝛeſente, hadde the palme oꝛ rewaꝛd of victoꝛie. And yet by the gouernance of that noble emperour, not onely the publyke weale flouryſhed, but alſoo dyuers rebellions were ſuppꝛeſſed, and the maieſtie of the empyꝛe hugely increaſed.

¶ Was it anye repꝛoche to the noble Germanicus (who by the aſſignement of Auguſtus ſhoulde haue ſucceded Tiberius in the empyꝛe, yf traytoꝛous enuy hadde not in his flouryſhyng youthe bireſte hym his lyfe) that he was equal to the mooſt noble poetis of his tyme, and to the increaſe of his honour and mooſte woꝛthy commendation, his image was ſet vp at Rome in the habit that poetis at thoſe dayes vſed?

¶ Fynally, howe moche excellente lernynge commendeth and not dyſpꝛayſeth nobilytie, it ſhall playnely appere vnto theym that do rede the lifes of Alexander, called Seuerus, Tacitus, Pꝛobus, Aurelius, Conſtantyne, Theodoſius, and Charles the great, ſurnamed Charlemayne, all beynge emperours: and do compare theym with other, whyche lacked oꝛ had not ſo moche of doctrine.

¶ Verily they be ferre from good reaſon in myne opinion, whiche couayte to haue theyꝛ chyl-

chyldren, goodly in stature, delyuer, well lyngyng: wherin trees, beastis, fyshes, and birdes, be not onely with them equall, but also farre do excede theym, And counnyng, wherby onely man excelleth all other creatures in earthe, they reiecte and accompte vnworthy to be in theyr chyldren. What vnkynde appetite were it, to desyre to be father rather of a piece of flesche, that can onely meue and fele, than of a chylde, that shoulde haue the perfecte fourme of a man? what so perfectly expresseth a man as doctrine?

¶ Diogenes the phylosopher, seynge one without learnynge, sytte on a stone, sayde to theym that were with hym, Beholde where one stone sytteth on an other. Whiche wordes well consydered and tried, shall appere, to conteyne in them wonderfull mattier, for the approbation of doctrine.

¶ The seconde and thyrde decay of learnyng amonge gentylmen. Ca. xiii.

THE SECONDE occasion, wherfore gentylmens chyldren seldome haue sufficient lerning, is auarice. For where theyr parentes wylle not aduenture, to send them farre oute of theyr propre countreys, partly for feare of deathe, whiche perchaunce dare not approche them at home with

with theyr father, partly for expence of mo-
ney, whyche they suppose wolde be lesse in
theyr owne houses, or in a village with some
of theyr tenantes or frendes, hauyng seldom
any regard to the teacher, whether he be wel
learned or ignorant. For if they hyre a schole
mayster to teache in theyr houses, they chiefe-
ly enquire, with how small a salary he wil be
contented, and neuer do inserche, how moch
good learnynge he hathe, and howe amonge
well learned men, he is therin estemed: vsing
therin lesse diligence than in takyng seruan-
tes, whose seruice is of moche lesse impor-
tance, and to a good scholemayster, is not in
profyte to be compared.

¶ A gentyl man, er he take a cooke in his ser-
uice, wyll fyrst examyne him diligently, how
many sortes of meates, potages, and sauces
he can perfectly make, and howe well he can
season them: that they may be bothe pleasant
and nourysshyng. Yea, and if it be but a fau-
coner, he wyll scrupulously enquire, what
skyll he hath in feedyng, called diete, and ke-
pyng of his hauke from al syknes: Also how
he can reclaime her, and prepare her to flight
And to suche a cooke or fauconer, whom he
fyndeth expert, he spareth not to gyue moche
wages, with other bountyous rewardes. But
of a schole maister, to whome he wyll cõmyt
his chylde to be fedde with learnyng, and in-
structed in vertue, whose life shalbe the prin-
cipal monument of his name and honour, he

neuer

neuer maketh further enquiry, but where he maye haue a scholemayster, and with howe lytell charge. And yf one perchance be founden well learned, whyche wyll not take peynes to teache without great salary: he than speaketh nothynge moze, oz els saythe, what shall so moche wages be gyuen to a schoolemayster, whiche wolde kepe me two seruauntes? To whome maye be sayde these woozdes, that by his sonne, beynge well learned, he shall receyue moze commoditie and also wozshyp, than by the seruyce of a hundzed cookes and sauconers.

¶ The thyrde cause of this hyndzaunce, is negligence of parētes, which I note specially in this poynte. There haue ben dyuers, as well meane gentyll men as of the nobylitie, whyche delyting to haue theyr sonnes excellent in lernyng, haue prouyded foz them cunnyng masters, who substācially haue taught them grāmer, and very well instructed them, to speake latine elegantly: wherof the parentes haue taken moche delectation, but whan they haue had of grammer sufficient, and be comen to the age of. xiii. yeres, and doo approche oz drawe towarde the astate of man, whiche age is called mature oz rype (wherin not onely the sayde learnynge contynued by moche experience, shall be perfectely digested and confyzmed in perpetuall remembzance, but also moze seryouse learnynge conteyned in other liberall sciences, and also phylosophy

wolde

wold than be lerned) the parentes this thing nothyng regardyng, but being suffred, that theyr children can onely speake latine properly, or make verses without matter or sentēce: they from thensforthe do suffre them to lyue in ydelnes, or elles puttynge them to seruice, do as it were banyshe theym from all vertuous study, and from exercyse of that, which they before learned. So that we may behold dyuers yonge gentyll men, whyche in theyr infancy and chyldehod, were wondred at for theyr aptnes to learnynge, and prompt speakynge of elegant latine, nowe beinge men, haue not onely forgotten theyr congruitie (as the commune word is) and vneth can speake one hole sentēce in true latyn, but that warse is, haue al learnyng in derision and in scorne therof, wyll of wantonnesse speake the most barbarously that they can ymagyne.

¶ Nowe some man wyl require me to shew myne opinion, if it be necessary, that gentylmen shulde, after the age of .xiiii. yeres, continue in study. To be playn and true therin, I dare affirme, that if to the elegant speakynge of latine be not added other doctrine, lytell fruite may come of the tonge, sens latine is but a naturall speche, and the fruit of speche is wyse sentence, whiche is gathered and made of sundry lernynges. And he that hath nothyng but language onely, may be no more praised thā a poppynay, a pie, or a stare, whanne they speake feately. There be many

Eloquence cōmended.

nowe

nowe a days in famous scholes and vniuersities, whiche be so moche gyuen to the study of tongues onely, that whan they wryte epistles, they seeme to the reader, that lyke to a trūpet, they make a sowne without any purpose, wherevnto men harken more for the noyse, than for any delectation, that therby is meued. Wherfore they be moche abused, that suppose eloquence to be only in wordes or colors of Rhetorike. For as Tully saith, What is so furyouse or madde a thyng, as a vayne sowne of wordes of the best sort and moste ornate, conteynyng neither counnyng nor sentence.

What eloquence is.

¶ Undoubtedly, very eloquence is in euery tonge where any matter or acte done or to be done is expressed in wordes cleane, propise, ornate, and comely, wherof sentences be so aptly compact, that they by a vertue inexplicable, do draw vnto them the myndes and cōsent of the hearers, beinge therwith eyther perswaded, meued, or to delectation induced.

¶ Also euerye man is not an oratour, that can wryte an epistle or a flatteryng oration in latine, wherof the laste (as god helpe me) is to moche vsed. For a ryght oratour may be without a moch better furniture. Tulli saith that to hym belongeth the explicatyng or vnfoldyng of sentence, with a great estimation in gyuyng counsayle concernyng matters of great importance: also to hym appertayneth the styrryng and quyckenyng of people, lan-

gua-

gnyshyng or dyspertyng, and to moderat the that be rashe and vnbrydled. Wherfore noble auctoures do affyrme, that in the fyrste infancy of the worlde, men wandryng lyke beastis in woodes & on mountaynes, regardyng neither the religion due vnto god, nor the ofspeperteynyng vnto man, ordered all thing by bodyly strength: vntyll Mercurius (as Plato supposeth) or somme other man holpen by sapience, and eloquence, by som apte or propre oration, assembled them together, & perswaded to them, what commoditie was in mutual conuersation and honest maners.

¶ But yet Lopelius Tacitus describeth an oratour, to be of more excellent qualities, sayinge: An oratour is he, that can or maye speke or reason in euery question sufficiently, elegantly, and to perswade properly, accordyng to the dygnitie of the thyng that is spoken of, the opportunitie of tyme and pleasure of them that be herers. Lopn. Ta. de orat.

¶ Tully before hym affyrmed, that a man maye not be an oratour, heaped with preise, but yf he haue gotten the knowledge of all thinges, and artes of greatest importance. And howe shall an oratour speake of that thyng, that he hath not lerned? And bycause there maye be nothyng, but it maye happen to come in preyse or dyspraysе, in consultation or iugemente, in acculation or defence: therfore an oratour, by others instructiō perfectely furnyshed, may in euerye matter and ternyng, commende or dyspraysе, exhorte or

tion of some wisedomes and cõsayles con-teyned in some verses of poetes. Horace in his seconde booke of epistles, sayeth in this wyse, or moche lyke.

Horat.ep. li.ii.ep'a ad Augustum.

The poet facioneth by some pleasant meane,
The speeche of chyldren tender and vnsure:
Pullyng their eares from wordes vncleane,
Gyuing to them preceptes that are pure:
Rebukyng enuy and wrath, yf it dure:
Thinges wel done he can by exãple cõmende,
The nedy and syche he doth also his cure
To recomforte, yf aught he can amende.

¶ But they, whiche be ignorant in poetes, wyll perchance obiecte as their maner is, agayuste these verses, sayyng, that in Terence and other, that were writers of comedies, Ouide, Catullus, Martialis, and all that route of lasciuious poetes, that wrate epistles and dittes of loue, some called in latin Elegiæ, & some Epigrãmata, is nothyng conteyned, but incitation to lechery.

Comedies.

¶ Fyrste comedies, whyche they suppose to be a doctrinall of rybaudry, they be vndoutedly a picture, or as it were a mirrour of mans lyfe: wherin yuell is not taughte, but discouered, to the intent that men, beholding the promptnes of youth vnto vice, the snares of harlottis and baudes, layd for yong myndes, the disceipt of seruauntes, the chaunces of fortune, cõtrary to mens expectation, they beyng thereof warned, maye prepare theym

selfe to resyste and preuente occasion. Semblably remembryng the wysedomes, aduertisementes, counsayles, dissuasion from vice and other profytable sentences, mooste eloquently and familiarly shewed in those comedyes. Undoubtedly there shal be no lyttel fruite out of them gathered. And if the vices in them expressed, shuld because, that mindes of the readers shuld be corrupted: than by the same argument not onely enterludes in englysshe but also sermones, wherin some vyce is declared, shuld be to the beholders and herers lyke occasyon to encreace synners. And that by comedyes, good counsaylle is ministred: it appereth by the sentence of Parmeno, in the seconde comedy of Therence.

In this thynge I triumphe in myne owne conceipte.
That I haue kosiden koz al yong mē the way
How they of harlots shal know the deceipt,
Their wiles, & maners, that therby they may
Them perpetually hate: koz so moch as they
Out of their own houses be freshe & delicate,
Fedyng curiously: at home all the daye
Lyuyng beggarly, in most wretched astate.

¶ There be many mo wordes spoken, whiche I purposely omyt to translate, not withstandyng the substaunce of the hole sentence is herein comprised. But now to come to other poetes. What may be better sayd, than is witten by Plautus in his fyrste comedie?

Plautus in Amphit. Ac. loquitur

¶ Verely vertue doth all thynges excelle.
For if liuynge, helthe, lyuyng, and substance,
Our countrey, our parētes & children do wel
It happeth by vertue, she doth al aduaunce.
Vertue hath all thing vnder gouernaunce,
And in whō of vertue is foūden gret plētie,
Any thing that is good may neuer be deinte.

¶ Also Ouidius, that semeth to be most of all poetes lasciuious, in his mooste wanton bookes, hathe ryghte commendable and noble sentences, as for prouffe therof, I will recyte some that I haue taken at aduenture.

Ouidius de reme. amoris.

¶ Tyme is medicine, yf it shall profytte,
Wyne gyuen out of tyme, may be annoyfice.
A man shall irritate vice, yf he prohibite,
Whan time is not mete vnto his vtteraūce.
Therfore, yf thou yet by counsaile arte recuperable
Flie thou from idelnesse, and alway be stable.

¶ Martialis, whiche for his dissolute wrytyng, is mooste seldome red of men of moche grauitie, hath not withstandyng many commendable sentences and ryghte wyse counsayles, as among dyuers, I wyl reherce one, whyche is furst come to my remembraunce.

Martialis li. xii. ad Julium.

¶ If thou wylt eschewe bytter aduenture,
And auoyde the gnawyng of a penfiful hart
Sette in no one person al holly thy pleasure
The lesse shalt thou ioye, but lesse shalt thou smarte.

¶ I

¶ I could recite a great nombre of semblable good sentences, oute of these and other wanton poetes, whyche in latyne doo expres theym incomparably, with more grace and delectation to the reder, than our englysshe tong maye yet compyzehende. Wherfore seyng good and wise matter may be pycked out of these poetes, it were no reason for some lyttel mater, that is in theyr verses, to abāwne therfore all theyr warkes, noo more than it were to forbeare or prohibite a man to come into a fayre gardeyne, least the redolente sauours of swet herbes and floures, shal meue hym to wanton courage, or lesse in gadryng good and holsome herbes, he may happen to be stung with a nettle. No wise man entreth into a gardeyne, but he soone espieth good herbes from nettils, and treadeth the nettils vnder his feete, whiles he gadzeth good herbes: wherby he taketh no damage. Or yf he be stungen, he maketh light of it, and shortly forgetteth it. Semblably yf he do rede wanton mattier, mixte with wysedome, he putteth the worst vnder fote, and forteth out the best: or yf his courage be stered or prouoked, he remembreth the lyttel pleasure and greate detriment that shulde ensue of it: and withdrawyng his mynde to some other studye or exercise, shortely forgetteth it.

¶ And therfore among the iewes though it were prohibyte to chyldren, vntyll they came to rype yeres, to reade the bokes of Genesis, of the iuges, Cantica Canticorū, and some

parte of the booke of Ezechiel the prophete, For that in them was conteyned some matter, which mought happe to incense the yong mynde, wherin were sparkes of carnall concupiscence, yet after certayne yeres of mennes ages, it was leful for euery man to rede and diligently study those warkes. So although I approue not the lesson of wanton poetes, to be taughte vnto al chyldren: yet thynke I conuenient and necessary, that whanne the mynde is become constaunte, and courage is asswaged, or that chyldren of theyr naturall dyspolition be shamefast & continente, none auncient poete wolde be excluded frome the lesson of such one, as desyreth to come to the perfectyon of wisedome.

¶ But in defendyng of oratours and poetes, I had almoste forgotten where I was. Verily there maye no man be an excellente poete, nor oratour, vnlesse he haue parte of al other doctrine, specially of noble philosophy. And to say the trouth, no man can apprehende the very delectation, that is in the lesson of noble poetes, vnlesse he haue red very moch, and in dyuers autours of diuers lernynges. Wherfore, as I late sayde, to the augmentation of vnderstandyng, called in latine Intellectus et mens, is required to be moche redynge and vigilante studye in euerye scyence, specially of that parte of phylosophye named morall, whyche instructeth menne in vertue and polytyke gouernaunce. Also no noble autour, specially of them that wrate in

greke

greke or latine before.xii. yeres passed, is not for any cause to be omytted. For therein I am of Quintilianus opynion, that there is fewe or none auncient warke, that yelded not some fruite or commoditie to the diligēt readers. And it is a very grosse or obstynate wytte, that by readynge moche, is not somewhat amended.

¶ Concernyng the election of other authors to be red, I haue (as I truste) declared sufficiently my conceyt and opinion, in the.x. and xi. chapiters.

¶ Fynally, lyke as a delycate tree, that cometh of a kernell, whiche as soone as it burgeneth out leaues, yf it be plucked vp, or it be sufficiently rooted, and layde in a corner, becometh drye or rotten, and no fruite commeth of it: yf it be remoued and sette in an other ayre or earthe, whyche is of contrarye qualities where it was before, it eyther semblably dyeth, or beareth no fruite, or elles the fruite that cometh of it, leseth his verdure and taste, and fynally his estimation. So the pure and excellent learnyng, wherof I haue spoken, though it be sowen in a chylde neuer so tymely, and springeth and burgeneth neuer so pleasantely, yf before it take a deepe roote in the mynde of the chylde, it be layde aside, eyther by to moche solace, or continuall attendance in seruyce, or elles is translated to an nother studye, whyche is of a more grosse or vnpleasant qualitie, before it be cō-

fyrmed or stablyshed by often readyng or diligent exercise, in conclusion it vanisheth and commeth to nothyng. Wherfore let men reply as they lyste, in myne opynion, men be wonderfully discerned nowe adayes (I dare not say with the perswasion of auarice) that do put theyr chyldren at the aege of. xiii. or xv. yeres, to the studye of the lawes of the realme of Englande. I wyll shewe theym reasonable causes why, if they wyll pacyently here me, informed partely by myne owne experyence.

How the studentes in the lawes of this realme may take excellent cõmoditie by the lessons of sundry doctrines. ca. xiiii.

IT may not be denyed, but that all lawes be founded on the depest parte of reason, and as I suppose, no one lawe soo moche as our owne: and the deper men do inuestigate reason, the more difficile or harde muste nedes be the study. Also that reuerende study is inuolued in so barbarous a lãgage, that it is not onely voyde of all eloquence, but also being separate from the exercise of our lawe onely, it serueth to no commoditie or necessary purpose, no man vnderstandynge it, but they, whiche haue studied the lawes. Than chyldren at. xiiii. or xv. yeres olde, in whyche tyme spryngeth courage lette all in pleasure, and pleasure is in nothing, that is not facile

or

elegant, being brought to the moste difficulte and graue lerning, which hath nothing ellis brouse or delicate to tickle theyr tender wittes, and allure them to study (onles it be lutter, whiche a gentil wit lyttell esteemeth) the more parte vanquyshed with tediousnes, eyther do abandon the lawes, and vnwares to theyr frendes, do gyue them to gamyng, and other (as I mought say) ydell busynes, now called pastymes, or els yf they be in any wise thertto constrained, they apprehending a parte therof, as if they beinge longe in a darke dunsgion, onely dyd se by the lyghte of a candell. Than if after .xx. or .xxx. peres study, they happen to come amonge wyse men, herynge matters cõmened of, concerning a publike weale or outward affaires betwene princis, they no lesse be astonied, than if they comming out of a darke house at none dayes, were sodeynely stryken in the eies with a bright sũne beame. But I speke not this in reproch of lawyers, for I knowe diuers of them, whiche in consultation wyl make a ryght vehement reson: and so do some other, whyche haue neyther lawe nor other lernyng, and if they were furnyshed with excellent doctrine, theyr reason shulde be the more substanciall and certayne. ¶ There be some also, which by theyr frendes, be coarted to apply the study of the lawe only, and for lacke of plentuous exhybition be let of theyr libertie, wherfore they can not resorte vnto pastyme. These of all other be most

moste taste awaye, for nature repugnynge, they vnneth taste any thing that may be profytable, and also theyr courage is so mortifyed (whych yet by solace perchance mought be made quycke or apte to some other studye or laudable exercise, that they lyue euer after out of al estymation. Wherfore Tulli sayth, We shulde so endeuour our selues, that we stryue not with the vniuersal nature of man, but that beinge conserued, let vs folowe our owne propre natures, for thoughe there be studies of more grauitie and importance, yet ought we to regarde the studyes, wherto we be, by our owne nature inclyned. And that this sentence is true, we haue dayly experyence, in this realme specially. For howe many men be there, whose sonnes in chyldhode are aptly disposed by nature to paynt, kerue, or graue, to embrowder, or doo other lyke thynges, wherin is any arte commendable, concernynge inuention, whiche as soone as they espye it, be therewith displeased, and forthwith byndeth them apprentyses to taylours, weauers, towkers, and sometyme to coblars: whiche hath bene the inestymable losse of many good wittes, and hath caused, that in the sayd artes, englysshe men be inferyours to all other people, and be constrayned, yf we wyll haue any thynge well paynted, kerued, or imbrowdred, to leaue oure owne countrey men, and resorte vnto straungers: but more of this shall I speake in the

next

nexte volume. But to reloze vnto lawyers. ¶ I thinke verily, if chyldren were brought vp, as I haue written, and continually were reteined in the right study of very philosophy vntyll they passed the age of. xxi. yeres, and than set to the lawes of this realme (beinge ones brought to a moze certayn and compendious study, and eyther in englysshe, latine, or good frenche, written in a moze cleane and elegant style) vndoubtedly they shuld become men of so excellent wysedome, that throughout all the worlde shuld be founden in no comune weale moze noble counsaylours, our lawes not onely comprehendynge moost excellent reasons, but also being gathered and compact (as I mought say) of the pure meale or flowre, syfted out of the best lawes in al other countreys, as somewhat I do intende to prone euidently in the nexte volume, wherin I wyll rendre myne office or duetie, to that honourable study, whereby my father was aduaunced to a Iudge, and also I my selfe haue attayned no lyttell commoditie.

¶ I suppose, there be dyuers men wyl say, that the sweteneſſe that is conteyned in eloquence, and the multitude of doctrines, shuld vtterly withdrawe the myndes of yong men from the moze necessary studye of the lawes of this realme. To them wyl I make a breke answere, but trewe it shall be, and I trust sufficient to wyse men. In the greate multitude of yonge men, whyche alway wyll repayre

payre, and the lawe beinge ones brought into a more certayne and perfect language, wyll also increase in the reuerente studye of the lawe: vndoubtedly there shall neuer lacke, but come by nature inclyned, dyuers by desyre of sundry doctrines, many for hope of lucre, or some other aduauncement, wyll effectually study the lawes, ne wyl be therfrom withdrawen by any other lesson, whyche is more eloquent. Exaumple we haue, at this present tyme, of dyuers excellent lerned men bothe in the lawes cyuile and also in phisike, whyche beynge exactely studied in all partes of eloquence, bothe in the Greke tonge and latine, haue not withstandyng redde and perused the greate fardelles and trusses of the moste barbarous autours stuffed with innumerable gloses: wherby the moste necessary doctrines of lawe and physyke be mynced into fragmentes, and in all wyse mens opinyons, do perceyue no lesse in the sayde lernynges, than they, which neuer knewe eloquēce or neuer tasted other but the fecis or dragges of the sayde noble doctrines. And as for the multitude of sciences can not endamage any student, but if he be meued to study the lawe by any of the sayde motions, by me before touched, he shall rather merease therin, than be hyndred, and that shall appere manyfestly to them, that eyther wyll gyue credence to my reporte, or els wyll rede the warkes that I wyll allege, which if they vnderstande not

to

to deſyre ſome lerned man by interpretynge to cauſe them perceyue it. And fyrſt I wylle begynne at oratours, who beare the princi-pall title of eloquence.

¶ It is to be remēbred, that in the lerning of the lawes of this realme, there is at this day an exercyſe, wherin is a maner of a ſhadowe or figure of the auncient Rhetorike, I meane the pleading vſed in court and chancery cal-led motes: Where fyrſte a caſe is appointed to be moted by certayn yong men, conteyning ſome doubtfull controuerſy, which is in ſtede of the head of a declamation, called thema, the caſe being knowen, they which be appoin ted to mote, do examine the caſe, and inueſti-gate what they therin can eſpy, whiche may make a contention, wherof may ryſe a que-ſtion to be argued, and that of Tulli is con-ſtitutio, and of Quintilian ſtatus cauſæ. Alſo they cōſyder what pleas on euery part ought to be made, and howe the caſe may be reaſo-ned. Whiche is the fyrſt parte of rhetorike, named Inuention. Than appoynt they, how many pleas may be made for euery part, and in what formalitie they ſhuld be ſet. Which is the ſeconde parte of Rhetorike, called diſpoſition, wherin they do moche approche vnto Rhetorike. Than gather they all into perfecte remembraunce, in ſuche order as it ought to be pleaded, whyche is the parte of Rhetorike named memorie. But for as moche as the tongue, wherin it is ſpoken,

The art of rhetorik in mootynge.

to

is barbarous, and the sterynge of affections of the mynde in this realme was neuer vsed: therfore there lacketh Eloquution and Pronunciation, two the principall partes of Rhetorike. Not withstanding som lawyers, if they be well retayned, wyl in a mean cause pronoũce right vehemently. Moreouer, there semeth to be in the sayde pledynges, certayn partes of an oration, that is to say, for Narrations, Partitions, Confirmations, and Confutations, named of some, Reprehensions, They haue Declarations, Barres, Replications, and Reioynders, only they lacke pleasant formes of begynnyng, called in latin Exordium: nor it maketh therof no greatte matter, they that haue studied rhetorike, shal perceyue what I meane. Also in arguynge theyr cases, in myne opinion, they lacke very lyttell of the hole art: for therin they do dilygently obserue the rules of Confirmation and Confutation, wherin resteth prose and dispraise: hauing almost al the places, wherof they shall fetche theyr reasons, called of orators Loci cõmunes, whyche I omyt to name, fearyng to be to long in this matter. And verely I suppose, if there mought ones happen some man, hauyng an excellent wyt, to be brought vp in suche fourme, as I haue hytherto written, and maye also be exactely or depely learned in the arte of an orator, and also in the lawes of this realme, the prince so wyllyng and therto assistynge, vndoub-

doubtedly it shuld not be impossible for him, to bryng the pleadyng and reasonyng of the lawe, to the auncient fourme of noble oratours: and the lawes and exercyse therof, beyng in pure latin or doulce frenche, fewe meane in consultations, shuld (in myne opinion) compare with our lawyars, by this meanes bring brought to ye perfect oratours, as in whom shuld than be founden the sharpe wyttes of logitians, the graue sentences of phyiosophers, the elegācie of poetes, the memorye of ciuilians, the voyce and gesture of them that can pronounce comedies: whyche is all that Tulli, in the person of the mooste eloquente man Marcus Antonius, coulde require to be in an oratour. Li. de orator. li. i.

¶ But now to cōclude mine assertiō. What let was eloquence to the studye of the lawe in Quintus Scevola, whyche beyng an excellent autour in the lawes ciuile, was called of all lawyars mooste eloquente? Or howe moche was eloquence mynysshed by knowelege of the lawes in Crassus, whyche was called of all eloquent men the best lawyar?

¶ Also Servius Sulpitius, in his tyme one of the most noble oratours, nexte vnto Tulli, was not so lette by eloquence, but that on the ciuile lawes he made notable commentes, and many noble warkes by all lawyers approued. Who readeth the texte of Ciuile, called the Pandectes or Digestes, & hathe any commendable iugement in the latin tong,

but he wyll affirme, that Vlpianus, Scæuola, Caius, and all the other there named, of whose sayinges all the sayde textes be assembled, were not onely studyous of eloquence, but also therin wonderful exercysed: for as moch as theyr style doth approche nere to the antique & pure eloquẽce, than any other kind of wryters, that wrate aboute that tyme.

¶ Semblably Tulli, in whom it semeth, that Eloquẽce hath set her glorious throne most rychly and precyously adourned for al men to wonder at, but no manne to approch it, was not let from beyng an incõparable oratour, ne was by the exact knowlege of other sciences withdrawen, from pleadyng infinit causes before the Senat and iuges, & they beyng of most wayghtye importaunce: In so moch as Cornelius Tacitus, an excellent oratour, historien, and lawyar, sayethe: Sureiye in the bookes of Tulli, menne maye deprehend, that in hym lacked not the knowlege of geometrye, ne musyke, ne gramm[illegible] fynallye of no maner of arte that was honeste, he of logike perceyued the subtilitie, of that parte that was moral al the commoditie, and of al thinges the chyefe motions and causes. And yet for all this abundaunce, and as it were a garnerde heaped with all maner sciences: there feyled not in hym substauncial lernyng in the lawes Ciuile, as it may appere as wel in the bookes, whyche he hym selfe made of lawes, as also, and moost specially, in many of

Corn. Ta. de oratore.

of his moſt eloquent oȝations: whiche if one well learned in the lawes of this realme, dyd rede and well vnderſtande, he ſhoulde fynde, ſpecially in his oȝations called Actiones a-gayne Verres, many places, where he ſhulde eſpye by lykelyhode the fountaynes, frome whens proceded dyuers groundes of our cō-mune lawes. But I wyl now leue to ſpeake any moȝe therof at this tyme.

¶ Moȝeouer, whan ponge menne haue red lawes, expouned in the oȝations of Tully, and alſoo in hiſtoȝies, of the begynnynge of lawes, and in the warkes of Plato, Xeno-phon, and Ariſtotell, of the dyuerſyties of lawes and publyke weales, yf nature (as I late ſayde) wyll dyſpoſe them to that maner ſtudye, they ſhal be therto the moȝe incenſed, and come vnto it the better prepared & fur-nyſhed. And they whome nature therto no-thyng meueth, haue not onely ſaued all that time, whiche many now a dayes do conſume in ydelneſſe, but alſo haue won ſuche a trea-ſure, wherby they ſhall all waye be able to ſerue honourably theyr prynce & the publike weale of theyr countreye, pryncipally yf they conferre all theyr doctrines to the moſt noble ſtudy of moȝall philoſophy, whyche teacheth both vertues maners, & ciuile polycie: wher-by at thelaſt we ſhoulde haue in this realme ſufficiencye of woꝛſhyppefull lawyers, and alſo a publyke weale equiualent to the Gre-kes oꝛ Romaynes.

¶ For what cause at this daye there be in this realme fewe perfecte schole mayſters. Capitulo. xv.



I Orde god how many good and clene wyttes of chyldre be now a dayes periſhed by ignorannt ſchole mayſters. Howe lyttel ſubſtancial doctrine is apprehēded by the fewenesse of good grammariens? Notwithſtanding I know that there be ſome wel lerned, whiche haue taught, and alſo do teach, but god knoweth a fewe, and they with ſmall effect, hauyng therto no cōfort: theyr aptiſt and mooſte prope ſcholers, after they be well inſtructed in ſpeakyng latine, and vnderſtandyng ſome poetes, beyng taken frome theyr ſchole by theyr parentes, and eyther be brought to the courte, & made lakaies or pages, or elles are bounden prentiſes, wherby the worſhyp that the mayſter aboue anye rewarde, couayteth to haue by the praiſe of his ſcholer, is vtterly drowned. Wherof I haue harde ſchole maiſters very well lerned, of good right, cōplaine. But yet (as I ſaid) the fewneſſe of good grāmariens is a great impediment of doctrine. And here I wolde the readers ſhuld marke, that I note to be fewe good grāmariens, and not none. I call not them grammariens, whyche only can teache or make rules, wherby a chylde

ſhall

shall onelye lerne to speake congrue latine, or to make fyve versis standynge in one foote, wherin perchaunce shall be neyther sentence nor eloquence. But I name hym a grammarien by the auctoritie of Quintiliã, that spekyng latine elegantly, can expoũde good autors, expressyng the inuention and dispositiõ of the mater, theyr style or fourme of eloquence, explycatyng the figures, as well of sentences as wordes, leuynge nothyng, person or place named by the auctour, vndeclared, or hydde frome his scholers. Wherfore Quintilian sayth, It is not ynough for hym to haue redd poetes, but al kyndes of writyng must also be sought for, not for the historyes only, but also for the proprietie of wordes, whiche communely doo receyue theyr auctoritie of noble auctours. Moreouer, without musike, grammer may not be perfecte: for as moche as therin muste be spoken of metres and harmonies, called rythmi in greke. Neither yf he haue not the knowlege of sterres, he maye vnderstande poetes, whyche in description of tymes (I omitte other thynges) they tract of the rysyng and goynge downe of planettes. Also he may not be ignorant in philosophye, for many places that be almost in euery parte, fetched out of the most subtile parte of naturall questions. These be well nyghe the wordes of Quintilian. Than behold how fewe grammariens, after this description be in this realme. Fab. Quintilian. li. i.

¶ Undoubtedly there be in this realme many well lerned, which yf the name of a schole mayster were not so moch had in contempte, and also yf theyr labours with abundante salaries moughte be requited, were ryghte sufficiente and able to induce theyr herers to excellēt lerning: so they be not plucked away grene, and er they be in doctrine sufficiently rooted. But nowe a dayes, yf to a bachelar or mayster of arte, studye of philosophy waxeth tedious, yf he haue a spone ful of latine, he wyll shewe forth a hoggesheed, without anye learnyng and offre to teache grammer, and expoune noble wryters: and to be in the roume of a mayster, he wyl for a smalle salarie, sette a false colour of learnyng on proper wyttes, whiche wyll be washed away with one shoure of rayne. For yf the chyldren be absente frome schole, by the space of one moneth, the beast learned of them, wyll vnneth tell whether FATO, wherby Eneas was brought in to Itali, were other a manne, a horse, a shyppe, or a wylde goose: Al thoughe theyr mayster wyll perchance auaunte hym selfe to be a good philosopher.

Virgilius Eneid. 6. su secundo.

¶ Some men peraduenture do thynke, that at the begynnyng of learnyng, it forceth not, although the maysters haue not soo exacte doctrine as I haue rehersed, but lette theym take good hede, what Quintilian sayth, It is soo moche the better, to be instructed by them that are beste learned, for as moche as

Fab. Quil. lib. i.

it

it is difficultie to put out of the mynde, that whiche is ones settyled, the double bourden beyng paineful to the maisters that shal succede, and verily moche more to vnteache than to teache. Wherfore it is wryten, that Timothe the noble musitian, demaunded alway a greatter reward of them, whom other had taughte, than of theym that neuer any thyng learned. These be the wordes of Quintilian or lyke.

¶ Also the commune experience teacheth that no manne wyll put his sonne to a botcher to learne, or he bynde hym prentyse to a taylour. Or yf he wyll haue hym a connyng goldsmyth, wyll bynde hym fyrst prentyse to a tynkar. In these thynges poore menne be circumspect, and the nobles and gentylmen, who wolde haue theyr sonnes by excellente learnynge come vnto honour, for sparyng of coste, or for lacke of dylygente serche for a good schole mayster, wylfully dystroye theyr chyldren, casting theym to be taughte that learnynge, whyche wolde require sixe or seuen yeres to be forgoten, by whiche tyme the more parte of that age is spente, wherin is the chiefe sharpnesse of wytte, called in latin acumen, and also than approcheth the stubborne age, where the chylde brought vp in pleasure, dyldayneth correction.

¶ Nowe haue I all declared (as I do suppose) the chiefe impechementes of excellente lernynge, of the reformation I neede not to

speke, sens it is apparaūt, that by the contraries, men pursuyng ernestly with discrete iugement, & liberalitie, it shuld sone be amended.

¶ Of sondry fourmes of exercyse necessary for euery gentyll man. Cap. xvi.

All thoughe I haue hytherto aduaunced the commendation of lernyng, specially in gentil men: Yet it is to be considered, that continuall studye, withoute somme maner of exercyse, shortely exhausteth the spirytes vytal, and hyndereth naturall decoction and dygestion, wherby mānes body is the soner corrupted & brought into dyuers sycknesses, and finally the lyfe is therby made shorter. Where contrariwyse, by exercise, whiche is a vehement motion (as Galene prynce of phisytions defyneth) the helthe of man is preserued, and his strength increased: for as moche as the membres by meuyng and mutual touchyng, do ware more harde, and naturall heate in all the bodye is therby augmented. Moreouer it maketh the spyrytes of a manne more stronge and valiant, soo that by the hardnes of the membres, all labours be more tollerable, by naturall heate, the appetite is the more quicke: the change of the substance receiued, is the more redy, the nourishing of al partes of the body,

is

is the moze sufficient and sure. By valyant motion of the spirites, all thynges superfluous be expelled, and the conduites of the body clensed.

¶ Wherfoze this parte of phisike, is not to be contemned oz neglected in the education of chyldzen, and specially from the age of. xiiii. yeres vpwarde, in whyche tyme strengthe, with courage increaseth.

¶ Moreouer, there be dyuers maners of exercises, whereof some onely prepareth and healpeth digestion, somme augmenteth also strength and hardynes of body, other serue foz agilitie and nymblenes, some foz celeritie oz spedynesse. There be also, whyche ought to be vsed foz necessitie only. All these ought he that is a tutour to a noble man, to haue in remembzance: and as opoztunitie serueth to put them in experiēce. And specially them, whiche with helth do ioyne commoditie (and as I mought saye) necessitie: consyderynge that be he neuer so noble oz valiant, somtime he is subiect to perylle, oz (to speake it moze pleasantly) seruaunt to foztune. Touchynge suche exercises, as many be vsed within the house, oz in the shadowe (as is the olde maner of spekyng) as deambulatiōs oz moderat walkynges, labouryng with wyses made of leade oz other mettall, called in latyn Alteres, Lyftyng and thzowyng the heuy stone oz barre, playing at tenyse, and dyuers semblable exercyses, I wyll foz this tyme passe

ouer, exhortynge theym, whyche doo vnderstande latine, and do delyre to knowe the cõmodities of sundry exercises, to resort to the boke of Galene, of the gouernance of helth, called in latine De sanitate tuenda, where they shall be in that matter abundantly satisfied, and fynde in the readynge moche delectation: whyche booke is translated into latine, wonderfull eloquentely by doctour Linacre, late moste worthy phisition, to oure moste noble soueraygne lorde kynge Henry the.viii. And I wylle nowe onely speake of those exercyses, apte to the furniture of a gentyll mans personage, adaptyng his body to hardenesse, strengthe, and agilitie, and to helpe therewith hym selfe in perylle, whyche may happen in warres or other necessitie.

¶ Exercises, wherby shulde growe both recreation and profyte. Cap. xvii.

Wrastlyng is a very good exercyse in the begynnyng of youth, so that it be with one that is equall in strength, or somewhat vnder, and that the place be soft, that in fallyng their bodies be not bruised.

wrastlyng Galenus.

¶ There be diuers maners of wrastlynges, but the best, as well for healthe of bodye, as for exercise of strengthe is, whan laying mutually theyr handes one ouer a nothers neck, with the other hande, they holde fast eche other by the arme, and claspyng theyr legges togi-

togither, they inforce thē selues with strēgth and agilytie, to throwe downe eche other, whyche is also praysed by Galene. And vndoubtedlye it shall be founde profytable in warres, in case that a capytayn shall be constrayned to cope with his aduersarye hande to hande, hauyng his weapon broken or lost. Also it hath bene sene, that the weaker person, by the sleyght of wrastlyng, hath ouerthrowen the stronger, almost or he coulde fasten on the other any violent stroke.

¶ Also rennyng is both a good exercyse and a laudable solace. It is written of Epaminondas, the valyant capitayne of Thebanes (who as well in vertue and prowesse, as in lernyng, surmounted all noble men of his tyme) that dayly he exercysed hym selfe in the mornyng, with runnyng and leapyng, in the cutnyng in wrastlynge, to the intent that lykewyse in armure he moughte the more strongly, embracyng his aduersary, put him in daungier. And also that in the chase rennyng and leapyng, he moughte eyther ouertake his ennemy, or being pursued, if extreme nede required, escape hym. Rennyng.

¶ Semblably before hym dyd the worthye Achilles, for whiles his shyppes lay at rode, he suffered not his people to slumber in idelnesse, but dayely exercysed theym and hym selfe in rennynge, wherin he was mooste excellent, and passed all other: and therfore Homere throughout all his werke calleth hym

swyft

swyfte foote Achilles.

¶ The great Alexander, being a chylde, excelled all his companions in runnyng. Wher fore on a tyme one demaunded of hym, yf he wolde runne at the great game of Olympus wherto out of all partes of Greece, came the moste actiue and valiant persones, to assaye maystries. Wherunto Alexander answered in this fourme, I wolde very gladdely renne there, if I were sure to renne with kynges: for if I shulde contende with a priuate person, hauyng respect to our bothe astates, our victories shulde not be equall.

¶ Nedes must runnyng be taken for a laudable exercise, sens one of the most noble capitaynes of all the Romayns, toke his name of rennynge, and was called Papyrius Cursor, whyche is in englysshe, Papyrius the Renner. And also the valiaunt Marius the Romayne, whan he hadde ben seuen tymes Consull, and was of the age of foure score yeres, exercised hym selfe dayly amonge the yong men of Rome, in such wyse, that there resorted people out of far partes, to beholde the strengthe and agilitie of that olde Consul, wherin he compared with the ponge and lusty souldiours.

Swymmynge.

¶ There is an exercise, whiche is ryght profytable in extreme danger of warres, but by cause there seemeth to be some perylle in the learnynge therof, and also it hath not ben of longe tyme moche vsed, specially among noble

dle men, perchaunce some reders wyll lyttell esteeme it, I meane swymmynge. But not withstandyng, if they reuolue the imbecillitie of out nature, the hasardes and dangers of battayle, with the examples, whych shall hereafter be shewed, they wyl (I doubt not) thynke it as necessary to a capitayne or man of armes, as any that I haue yet rehersed.

¶ The Romaynes, who aboue al thynges, had moost in estymation martiall prowesse, had a large and spacious fielde, without the citie of Rome, whiche was called Marces fielde, in latine Campus Martius, wherein the youthe of the citie was exercysed. This fielde adioyned to the ryuer of Tyber, to the intent that as well men as chyldren, shoulde washe and refreshe theym in the water after theyr labours, as also learne to swymme. And not men and chyldren only, but also the horses: that by suche vsage they shuld more aptely and boldely passe ouer greate ryuers, and be more able to resyste or cut the waues, and not be afeerd of pyrries or great stormes. For it hath ben oftentymes sene, that by the good swymmyng of horses, many men haue bene saued: and contrarywyse, by a tymorouse royle, where the water hath vneth com to his bealy, his legges hath foltred, wherby many a good and prorre man hath perished. What benefytte receyued the holle cytie of Rome, by the swymmyng of Oratius Cocles? Which is a noble hystory, and worthy

Campus Martius.

to

to be remembred.

¶ After the Romaynes had expelled Tarquine theyr kynge, as I haue before remembred, he desyred ayde of Porsena, kynge of Thuscanes, a noble and valiant prince, to recouer ageyne his realme and dignitie: who with a great and puisant hoste, besieged the citie of Rome, and so sodaynly and sharply assaulted it, that it lacked but lyttell, that he ne had entred into the citie with his hoste, ouer the brydge, called Sublitius, where encoūtred with hym this Oratius with a fewe Romaynes. And whyles this noble capitayn being alone, with an incredible strengthe resysted all the hoste of Porsena, that were on the brydge, he commaunded the brydge to be broken behynd hym, wherwithall the Thuscanes theron standyng, fell into the greatte ryuer of Tiber, but Oratius all armed lepte into the water, and swamme to his compayny. All be it that he was stryken with many arowes and dartes, and also greuously wounded, not withstandynge by his noble courage and feate of swymmynge, he saued the citie of Rome from perpetuall seruitude, whiche was lykely to haue ensued by the returne of the proude Tarquine.

Julius Cesar swimmyng.

¶ Howe moch profyted the feate of swymmyng to the valyant Julius Cesar? Who at the battayle of Alexandri, on a brydge being abandoned of his people for the multitude of his enemyes, whych oppressed them, whan

whan he mought no longer sustayne the shot of dartes and arowes, he boldly lept into the sea, and diuing vnder the water, escaped the shot, and swamme the space of .200. paces to one of his shyps, drawynge his cote armure with his teethe after him, that his ennemies shuld not atteyne it, and also that it mought somewhat defende hym from theyr arowes: And that more meruaile was, holdyng in his hand aboue the water, certain letters, which a littel before he had receyued frō the Senat. Sertorius.

¶ Before hym Sertorius (who of the Spaniardes was named the seconde Anniball for his prowesse) in the battayle that Scipio fought agaynst the Cimbres, whyche inuaded Fraunce, whan by negligence of his people, his ennemy preuayled, and put his hoste to the warse, he beinge sore wounded, and his horse beinge loste, armed as he was in a gesseron, holdyng in his handes, a tergat and his swerde, lept into the ryuer of Rone, whiche is wonderfull swyft, and swymmyng agaynst the streame, came to his company, not without great wonderyng of all his enmies, whiche stode and beheilde hym.

¶ The great king Alexander lamented, that he had not well learned to swymme. For in Indie whan he wente agaynst the puissaunt kynge Porus, he was constrayned, in folowyng his enterprise, to conuey his host ouer a ryuer of wonderful greatnes: than caused he his horsemen to gage the water, whereby he

he fyrſt perceyued that it came to the breſtes of the horſes, & in the myddle of the ſtreme, the horſes went in water to the necke, wherwith the footemen beinge aferde, durſte not aduenture to paſſe ouer the ryuer. Alexander perceyuyng that, with a dolorous maner in this wyſe lamented, O howe moſte vnhappy am I of all other, that haue not or this tyme lerned to ſwymme? And therwith he pulled a tergate frome one of his ſouldiours, and caſtynge it in to the water, ſtandynge on it, with his ſpeare, conueyed hym ſelf with the ſtreme, and gouernynge the tergate wyſely, brought hym ſelfe vnto the other ſyde of the water. Wherof his people being abaſhed, ſome aſſayed to ſwymme, ſome holdyng faſt by the horſes, other by ſpeares, and other like weapons, many vpon fardels and truſſes, gate ouer the ryuer: in ſo moche as nothyng was peryſhed ſaue a lyttell baggage, and of that no great quantitie loſte.

¶ What vtilitie was ſhewed to be in ſwimmynge at the fyrſte warres, whyche the Romaynes had agaynſte the Carthaginenſes?

It happened a battayle to be on the ſee betwene them, where they of Carthage, being vanquyſhed, wolde haue ſet vp theyr ſayles to haue fledde, but that perceyuynge dyuers yonge Romayns, threwe theym ſelues into the ſea, and ſwymmynge vnto the ſhyppes, enforced theyr ennemies to ſtryke on lande, and there aſſaulted them ſo aſpꝛely, that the

capy-

capitayne, of the Romaynes, called Luctatius, mought easily take them.

¶ Nowe to beholde, what excellent commoditie is in the feate of swymmynge, sens no kynge, be he neuer so puissaunte or perfecte in the experyence of warres, may assure hym selfe frome the necessyties, whyche fortune soweth amonge menne that be mortall, And sens on the heith and saulfegarde of a noble capitaine, often tymes dependeth the weale of a realme, nothyng shoulde be kepte frome his knowlege, wherby his persoune maye be in euery ieoperdye preserued.

¶ Amonge these exercyses, it shall be conuenyente, to learne to handle sondry wayppons, sycially the sworde and the bataile axe: whiche be for a noble man most conuenient. Defence with wayppons.

¶ But the most honorable exercyse in myne opynion, and that be semeth the astate of euerye noble persoune, is to ryde surelye and cleane, on a great horse and a roughe, whiche vndoubtedly not onely importeth a maiestie and drede to inferiour persounes, beholdyng him aboue the common course of other men, dauntyng a fierce and cruel beast, but also is no lyttell socour, as well in pursuite of ennemies and confoundyng them, as in escapyng imminente daunger, whan wysedome therto exhorteth. Also a strong and hardy horse with some tyme more domage vnder his mayster, than he with al his weapon: and also setteth forwarde the stroke, and causeth it to lyghte Rydyng and vaunttyng of horsis.

with moze vyolence.

Bucephal. ¶ Bucephall, the hoꝛſe of greate kyng Alexander, who ſuffred none on his backe ſauſe onely his maiſter, at the battayle of Thebes beynge ſoꝛe wounded, wolde not ſuffre the kynge to depart from hym to a nother hoꝛſe, but perſiſtyng in his furiouſe courage, wonderfully continued out the batayle, with his fete and tethe beatyng downe and deſtroyng many ennemyes: and manye ſemblable marueyles of his ſtrength he ſhewed. Wherfoꝛe Alexander, after the hoꝛſe was ſlayne, made in remembꝛaunce of hym a cytie in the countrey of India, and called it Bucephal, in perpetuall memoꝛy of ſo woꝛthy a hoꝛſe, which in his lyfe had ſo well ſerued hym.

¶ What wonderful enterpꝛiſes did Julius Ceſar achieue by the helpe of his hoꝛſe: whiche not onely dydde excell all other hoꝛſis in fierceneſſe and ſwyft rennyng, but alſo was in ſome partes diſcrepante in fygure frome other hoꝛſes, hauyng his foꝛe houes lyke to the fete of a mā. And in that figure Plinius wꝛyteth, that he ſawe hym kerued befoꝛe the temple of Venus.

¶ Other remembꝛaunce there is of dyuers hoꝛſes, by whoſe mōſtruous power, men did exploite incredible aſſayꝛes: but bycauſe the repoꝛte of theym conteyneth thynges impoſſible, and is not wꝛiten by any appꝛoued auctour, I wyl not in this place reherſe theym. Hauyng that it is yet ſuppoſed, that the caſtell

Arundel.

Hell of Arundel in Suſſex, was made by one Beauuize, erle of Southhampton, for a monument of his horſe called Arundell, whyche in farre countreyes hadde ſaued his mayſter frome many perylls

¶ Nowe conſyderyng the vtilitie in rydyng great horſes, it ſhalbe neceſſarye (as I haue ſayde) that a gentyleman doo learne to ryde a great and fierce horſe whyle he is tender, and the braunes and ſinewes of his thighes not fully conſolidate.

¶ There is alſoo a ryghte good exercyſe, whyche is alſoo expedient to learne, whyche is named the vauntyng of a horſe: that is to leape on hym at euerye ſyde without ſtyrope or other helpe, ſpecially whyles the horſe is goyng. And beyng therin expert, than armed at all pointes to aſſaye the ſame, the commoditie wherof is ſoo manifeſte, that I nede no further to declare it.

¶ The auncient huntyng of Greekes. and Romaynes. Ca. xviii.

But nowe wyll I proceede to wryte of exercyſes, whiche be not vtterly reproued of noble auctours, yf they be vſed with oportunitie & in meaſure, I mene hunting, hauking, & daunſing. In hūting may be an imitation of batayle, if it be ſuche as was vſed among them of Perſia: wherof Xenophon, the noble and mooſte eloquente phyloſ

H. 2. ſopher

sypher, maketh a delectable mention, in his booke, called the doctrine of Cirus: and also maketh a nother speeyall booke, conteynyng the hole discipline of the auncyent huntynge of the Grekes, & in that fourme beyng vsed, it is a laudable exercyse, of the which I wyl nowe some what write.

The huntyng of Perslans Xenophon pedia Cyri.li.i.

¶ Cirus, and other auncyente kynges of Persia (as Xenophon wryteth) vsed this maner in all theyr huntyng. Fyrste, where as it semeth, there was in the realme of Persia but one Cytie, whyche as I suppose, was called Persepolis, there were the children of the Persians, from theyr infancye, vnto the aege of seuentene yeres, brought vp in the lernyng of iustice and temperaunce, & also to obserue continence in meate and drinke: in so moche, that whyther so euer they went, they toke with them for theyr sustenaūce, but only bread and herbes, called Cresis, in latine Nasturtium: and for theyr drynke, a dysche to take water out of the ryuers as they passed. Also they learned to shote, & to cast the darte or iauelyn. Whan they came to the aege of xvii. yeres, they were lodged in the palayses, that were there ordeyned for the kynge and his nobles, whyche was as well for the saue garde of the cytie, as for the example of temperaunce, that they daylye had at theyr eyes gyuen to theym by the nobles: whyche also mought be called Peeres, by the signification of the greeke worde, wherin they were called

called Omotimi. Moreouer, they were accustomed to ryse alwaye in the fyrst spryng of the daye, and patyentely to sustayne alwaye both cold and heate: And the kyng dyd se thē exercysed in goyng and also in rennyng. And whan he intended, in his owne persone, to hunte, whiche he dyd cōmenly euery moneth, he tooke with hym the one halfe of the company of yong men, that were in the palaices. Than toke euerye man with hym his bowe and quiuer with arowes, his sword or hache of steele, a lyttel targat, and two dartes. The bowe and arowes serued to pursue beastes that were swyft: & the dartes, to assaile them and all other beastes. And whan theyr courage was chauked, or that by fiersenesse of the wast they were in daūger, than force constrayned theym to stryke with the swoorde, or hache, and to haue good eye at the violente assaulte of the beaste, and to defende theym yf neede were, with theyr targates, wherin they accounted to be the trewest and mooste certayne meditation of warres. And to this huntyng the kyng dydde conducte them, and he him selfe fyrste hunted suche beastes as he hapned to encounter. And whan he had taken his pleasure, he than with moste diligence dyd set other forwarde, beholdyng who hūted valyauntly, and refourmyng them, whō he sawe negligente or slouthfull. But er they wente forthe to this huntynge, they dyned competently: and duryng their huntyng they

dined no more. For yf by any occa-yon their huntyng continued aboue one day, they toke the said dyner for their supper: and the nexte day, yf they kylled no game, they hunted vntyl supper tyme accountyng those two dayes but for one. And if they toke any thyng, they eate it at their supper with ioye and pleasur. If nothing were kylled, they eate only bread and cressis, as I before rehersed, and dranke therto water. And yf any man wyll dyspreise this diete, lette hym thynke what pleasure there is in breade, to hym that is hungry: and what dylectation is in drynkynge water to hym that is thurstye. Surelye this maner of huntyng may be called a necessary solace and pastyme, for therin is the verye imitation of battayle. For not onely it doth shew the courage and strengthe, as well of the horse as of hym that rydeth, trauersyng ouer mountaynes and valeyes, encountryng and ouerthrowyng great and myghty beastes: but also it increaseth in theym bothe agylitie and quyckn-esse, also sleight and polycie to fynde suche passages and straites, where they may preuent or intrap their enemies. Also by continuance therin, they shal easyly sustein trauayle in warres, hunger and thurst, cold and heate. Hytherto be the wordes of Xenophō, although I haue not sette them in like ordre as he wrate them.

The huntyng of the grekes.

¶ The chiefe huntyng of the valiaunt Grekes was at the lyon, the lybarde, the tigre,

the

the wylde swyne, and the beare, and some-tyme the wolfe, and the hart. Theseus, whiche was companyon to Hercules, attayned the greatest parte of his renoume, for fyghtyng with the greate boze, whyche the Grekes called Phera, that wasted and consumed the fieldes of a great countrey.

¶ Meleager lykewyse for sleyng the great boze in Calidonia, whyche in greatnes and fiereenes excelled all other bozes: and hadde slayne many noble and valyaunt personnes.

¶ The greate Alexander, in tymes vacante fro batalle, delited in that maner huntyng. On a tyme he faught alone with a lyon, wonderfull greate and fierce, beyng present amonge other straungers, the ambassadour of Lacedemonis. And after longe trauayle, with incredible myght, he ouerthrewe the lyon, and slewe hym, wherat the sayde ambassadoure, wondryng maruaylously, sayd to the kyng, I wold to god (noble prynce) ye shuld fyghte with a lyon for some great empire. By whiche wordes it semed, that he nothyng approued the valiauntnes of a prynce by fyghtyng with a wyld beast, wherin moche more was aduentured, than mought be by the victory gote.

¶ All be it Pompey, Sertorius, and diuers other noble Romaynes, whan they were in Numidia, Libia, & such other countreys whiche now be called Barbary & Morisco, in the vacation season fro[m]e warres, they hunted lions, liberdes, and such other beastes, fierce

The huntynge of Romanes.

and sauage, to thentente therby to exercyse them selfes & their souldiours. But almighty god be thãked, in this realme be no such cruel beastes to be pursued. Notwithstandyng, in the huntyng of red dere and falowe, mought be a great parte of semblable exercyse, vsed by noble men, specially in forestis, whyche be spacious: yf they wolde vse but a fewe nombre of houndes, onely to harborowe or rouse the game, by theyr yornyng to gyue knowlege, whyche waye it fleeth, the remenaunt of the disporte to be in pursuyng with iauelins and other waipons, in maner of warre. And to theym, whyche in this huntyng doo shewe mooste prowesse and actiuitie, a garlande, or some other lyke token, to be gyuen in sygne of victory, and with a ioyfull maner to be broughte in the presence of hym that is chiefe in the companye, there to receyue condygne prayse for theyr good endeuour.

¶ I dyspraysle not the huntyng of the fore with rennyng houndes, but it is not to be cõpared to the other hunting in commoditie of exercise. Therfore it wold be vsed in the depe wynter, whã the other game is vnseasonable.

¶ Huntyng of the hare with grehoũdes, is a ryght good solace for men that be studious, or theym to whome nature hathe not gyuen personage, or courage apte for the warres. And also for gentilwomẽ, which feare nether sonne nor wynde for appayrynge theyr beautie. And peraduenture they shall be there at,

lasse

lasse ydel, than they shuld be at home in their chambers.

¶ Kylling of dere with bowes or greyhoūdes, serueth well for the pot (as is the commune saying) and therfore it must of necessitie be somtyme vsed But it conteyneth therin no commendable solace or exercise, in comparison to the other fourme of huntynge, if it be diligently perceyued.

¶ As for haukynge, I can fynde no notable remembrance, that it was vsed of auncient tyme amonge noble princis. I calle auncient tyme, before a thousande yeres passed, sens whiche tyme, vertue and noblenes hathe rather decayed than increased. Nor I coulde neuer knowe, who founde fyrst that disport. Haukyng.

¶ Plinius maketh mencion in his .viii. boke of the hystorye of nature, that in the partes of Grece, called Thracia, men and haukes, as it were by a confederacy, toke byrdes togyther in this wyse. The men sprange the byrdes out of the bushes, and the haukes sorynge ouer them, beate theym downe, soo that the men mought easily take theym. And than dyd the men departe equally the praye with the faukons, whyche beynge well serued, eftsoones and of a custome repayred to suche places, where beinge alofte, they perceyued men to that purpose assembled.

¶ By whiche rehersall of Plinius, we may conjecte, that frome Thracia came this dysporte of haukynge. And I doubte not, but

many other, as well as I, haue seene a semblable experience of wylde hobies, whych in some countreys that be champayne, wyl soze and lye aloft, houerynge ouer larkes & quayles, and keepe them downe on the grounde. whyles they, whiche awayte on the praye, do take them. But in what wyse, or where soeuer the begynnynge of haukyng was, surely it is a ryght delectable solace, though therof commeth not so moch vtilitie (concernyng exercise) as there dothe of huntyng. But I wold our faukons mought be satisfied with the diuision of theyr praye, as the faukons of Thracia were, that they needed not to deuoure the hennes of this realme, in such nūbre, that vnlesse it be shortly consydered, and that faukons be broughte to a more homely diete, it is ryght lykely, that within a shorte space of yeres, our familiar pultrie shall be as scarse, as be nowe partriche and fesaunt. I speake not this in dispraysle of the faukōs but of them, whiche kepeth them lyke cocknoys. The meane gentyll menne, and honest householders, whiche care for the gentyll entertainment of their frendes, do fynd in their dysshe that I saye trouthe, and noble menne shall ryght shortly espye it, whan they come sodeynly to their frendes house, vnpurueyde for lacke of longe warnyng.

¶ But nowe to returne to my purpose. Undoubtedly hauking measurably vsed and for a pastyme, gyueth to a man good appetite to

his

his supper. And at the leaste waye withdrawe
weth hym frome other daliance or dispostes
dishoneste, and to body and soule perchaunce
pernicious.

¶ Nowe I purpose to declare some thyng,
concernynge daunsyng, wherin is merite of
prayse and dispraise, as I shall expresse it in
suche fourme, as I trust the reder shal fynde
therin a rare and syngular pleasure, with
also good learnyng in thynges not yet com-
monly knowen in our vulgar. whiche if it be
red of hym, that hath good opportunitie and
quiete sylence, I doubt not, but he shall take
therby such cõmodite, as he ought not to haue
founden in that exercise, whyche of the more
part of sadde men is so lyttell esteemed.

¶ That all daunsyng is not to be re-
proued. Capituio. xix.

I Am not of that opinion, that all dansyng
generally is repougnant vnto vertue, all
though some persons excellently lerned,
specially diuines, so do affyrme it: whyche
alwaye haue in theyr mouthes, (whan they
come into the pulpette) the saying of the no-
ble doctour, saynt Augustine: That better it
were to delue or to go to plough on the son-
day, than to daunce. Which mought be spo-
ken of that kynde of daunsyng, which was
vsed in the tyme of saint Augustin, whãeue-
ry thing with the empire of Rome, declined
from

from their perfection, and the olde maner of daunsynge was forgotten, and none remayned, but that which was lasciuious, and corrupted the myndes of them that daunsed, & prouoked syn, as semblably some do at this day. Also at that tyme idolatry was nat clerely extinct, but dyuers fragmentes therof remayned in euery region. And perchaunce solemne daunces, whiche were celebrate vnto the paynyms false goddis, were yet contynued, for as moche as the pure religyon of Christ was not in all places consolidate, and the pastours and curates dyd wynke at such recreations, fearynge if they shoulde hastily haue remeued it, and induced sodaynely the seueritie of goddis lawes, they shulde styre the people therby to a generall sedytion, to the imminēt daūger and subuertiō of Christis hole religion, late sowen amonge them, and nat yet sufficiently rooted. But the wyse and discrete doctour saynt Augustine, vsyng the arte of an oratour, wherin he was right excellent, omyttynge all rigorous menace or terroure, dissuaded theym by the mooste easyest way, from that maner ceremony, belongyng to ydolatry, preferrynge before it bodily occupatiō, therby aggrauatyng the offence to god, that was in that ceremonye, sens occupation, whiche is necessarye for mans sustynance, and in due tymes vertuous, is nat withstandynge prohybited to be vsed on the sondayes. And yet in these wordes of this noble

noble doctour, is not so generall dispraysle to all daunsyng as some men do suppose. And that for two causes. Fyrst in his comparison he preferreth nat before daunsyng, or ioyneth therto any vycious exercyse, but annecteth it with tyllyng and dyggyng of the earth, whiche be labours incident to mans lyuyng, and in theym is conteyned nothyng that is vycious. Wherfore the preeminẽce therof aboue daunsyng, qualifyenge the offence, they beinge done out of due tyme, that is to saye in an holy day, concludeth nat daunsynge to be at all tymes and in euery maner vnlaufull or vicious, consyderynge that in certayne cases of extreme necessitie, menne moughte bothe plough and delue without doing to god any offence. Also it shall seme to them, that seriously do examyn the sayd wordes, that therin, Saint Augustine doth nat prohibite daunsynge so generally, as it is taken, but onely suche daunces, which (as I late sayd) were superstitious, & conteyned in them a spice of ydolatrie, or els dyd with vncleane motions or countenaunces irritate the myndes of the dauncers to venereall lustes. Wherby fornication and aduoutry were dayly increased. Also in those daunces were enterlaced dities of wanton loue or ribaudry, with frequent remembrance of the moste vile ydols, Venus and Bacchus, as it were that the dance were to their honour and memory, whiche moost of all, abhorred from Christis religion, sauerynge

eyng the auncient errour or paganisme.
¶ I wolde to god those names were not at this daye vsed in balades and ditties, in the courtes of princis and noble men, where many good wyttis be corrupted with semblable fantasies, whiche in better wyse employed, mought haue bene more necessary to the publyke weale and theyr princis honour. But nowe wyll I leaue this serious matter to diuines, to perswade or dissuade herein, accordyng to theyr offices. And sens in myne opinion sayncte Augustine, that blessed clerke reproueth not so generally all daunsynge, but that I may lawfully reherse some kynd therof, whiche may be necessarye, and also commendable, takyng it for an exercise: I shall nowe procede to speake of the fyrste begynnyng therof, and in howe great estimation it was had in dyuers regions.

¶ Of the fyrst begynnyng of daunsyng, and the olde estimation therof. Cap. xx.

There be sundrye opinions of the originall begynnyng of daunsyng. The poetes do fayne, that whan Saturne whyche deuoured dyuers his chyldren, and semblably wolde haue doone with Jupiter, Rhea the mother of Juppyter, dyuysed, that Curetes, (which were men of armes in that countrey) shulde daunse in armour, playing with theyr swoordes and shieldes, in suche fourme,

Curetes.

fourme, as by that new and pleasant deuise, they shulde assuage the melancoly of Saturne and in the meane tyme, Jupiter was conueyed into Phrigia, where Saturne also pursuynge hym, Rhea semblably taught the people there, called Coribantes, to daunce in another fourme: wherwith Saturn was eftsones demulced and appaised. Whiche fable hath a resemblance to the hystory of the bible in the fyrste boke of kynges, where it is remembred, that Sauie, whome god chase frō a keper of asses, to be kynge of Jewes (who in stature excelled, and was aboue all other men by the head) declinyng frome the lawes and preceptes of god, was possessed of an yuell spirite, whiche often tymes turmented and vexed hym: and other remedy founde he none, but that Dauid, which after hym was kynge, beinge at that tyme a proper chylde, and playing swetely on a harpe, with his plesant and perfect harmony, reduced his mynd into his pristynate estate: and durynge the tyme that he played, the spirite cessed to vexe hym: whiche I suppose hapned nat onely of the efficacy of musyke (all be it therin is moche power, as well in repressyng as exitynge naturall affectes) but also of the vertue ingenerate in the chylde Dauid, that playde, whom god also had predestinate to be a great kyng, and a great prophete. And for the soueraygne gyftes of grace and of nature, that he was endowed with, almyghty god sayde

Coribātes

of

of hym, that he had founde a man after his hart and pleasure. But nowe to retourne to speake of daunsynge.

Proteus. ¶ Some interpretours of poetes do imagin that Proteus, who is supposed to haue turned hym selfe into sygures, as sometyme to shewe hym selfe lyke a serpente, sometyme lyke a lyon, otherwhiles lyke water, an other tyme lyke the flame of syre, signifieth to be none other, but a deceyuer and craftye daunser, whiche in his daunse coulde imagine the inflexions of the serpent, the softe and delectable flowyng of the water, the swyftenesse and mountynge of the syre, the fierse rage of the lyon, the violence and fury of the libard. Whiche exposition is not to be dispraysed, seyng it discordeth not from reason. But one opinyon there is, whych I wyl reherse, more for the merye fantasy, that therin is cõteined, than for any fayth or credyte that is to be gyuen therto.

Gelo the kynge of Sicile. ¶ Ouer Syracusis (a greate and auncyent citie in Sicile) there raigned a crueil tyraunt called Gelo, whyche by horryble tyrannies and oppressions, brought hym selfe into the hatrede of all his people, whyche he perceyuyng, leste by mutuall communication, they shulde conspyre agaynste hym any rebellion, he prohibyted al men vnder terrible menaces that no man or woman shoulde speake vnto an nother, but in stede of wordes, they shuld vse in theyr necessary affayres, countenaun-

ces

ces, tokens, and mouynges, with theyr fete, handes, and eien, whyche for necessitie fyrst vsed, at the laste grewe to a perfecte and delectable daunsyng. And GELO, notwithstandynge his folysshe curiositee, at the last was slayne of his people mooste miserably. But although this hystorie were true, yet was not daunsyng at this tyme fyrst begon: for Orpheus and Museus, the mooste auncient of poetes, and also Homere, whyche were longe afore GELO, to make mention of daunsyng. And in DELVS, whiche was the moste ancient temple of Apollo, no solemnitie was done without daunsyng.

¶ Also in Indie, where the people honoreth the son, they assemble togyther, and whā the sonne fyrste appereth, ioyned all in a daunce, they salute hym, supposyng that for as moch as he moueth without sensible noise, it pleaseth hym best to be lyke wyse saluted, that is to say with a pleasante motion and silence.

¶ The interpretours of Plato do thynke, that the wonderful and incomprehensible ordre of the celestiall bodyes, I meane sterres and planettes, and theyr motions harmonicall, gaue to them, that intentifly, and by the depe serche of reason beholde theyr courses, in the sondrye dyuersities of nombre & tyme, a fourme of imitation of a semblable motiō: whyche they called daunsyng. Wherfore the more nere they approched to that temperaūce, and subtyle modulation, of the sayde superiour

tiour bodyes, the moze perfecte and commẽdable is theyr daunsyng: whiche is most like to the trouthe of anye opinion that I haue hytherto founden.

¶ Other tables there be, which I omyt for this presente tyme: And now I wyl expresse, in what estymation daunsyng was hadde in the auncient tyme, and also sondry fournies of daunsyng, not all, but such as had in them a semblaunce of vertue or kunnyng.

Archa fœderis.

¶ Whan the arke of god (wherin was put the tables of the commandements, the yerd, wherwith Moyses deuided the red see, and dyd the myracles in the presence of Pharao, kynge of Egypte: also a parte of manna, wherwith the chyldren of Israel were fedde fourty yeres in deserte) was recouered of the Philisties, & broughte vnto the cytie of Gaba, the holye kyng Dauid, wearyng on hym a lynen surplesse, daunsed before the sayde arke, folowyng hym a gret nombre of instrumentis of musyke: wherat his wyfe Michol, the daughter of kyng Saul, disdayned and scorned hym, wherwith (as holye scripture sayth) almyghty god was moche displeased. And Dauid not cessyng, daunsed ioyously through the cytye, in that maner honouryng that solemne feast, whyche among the iewes was one of the chyefe and principall, wherwith god was more pleased, than with all the other obseruaunces that theu were done vnto hym at that tyme.

Kyng Dauid daunsyng opẽly.

¶ I

¶ I wyl not trouble the reders wit[illegible]e innumerable ceremonies of the gētiles, o[illegible]iche were cōprehended in daunsynges, seing they ought to be noumbred among superstitio[illegible]. But I wyll declare, howe wyse men and va[illegible] liaunte capitaynes imbraced daunsyng for a soueraygne and profytable exercyse.

¶ Licurgus, that gaue firste lawes to the Lacedemones (a people in grece) ordeined that the chyldren there shoulde be taught as diligently to daunse in armure, as to fight. And that in tyme of warres, they shulde meue thē in batayle agayne theyr ennemies, in fourme and maner of daunsyng.

¶ Semblablye the olde inhabitauntes of Ethiopia, at the ioynyng of theyr battayles, and whan the trumpettes and other instrumentes soune, they daunce: and in stede of a quiuer, they haue their dartes set about their heades, like to rayes or beames of the sonne, wherwith they beleue that they put theyr ennemies in feare.

¶ Also it was not lefful for any of thē, to cast any dart at his enemie but daūsing. And not only this rude people estemed so moch daunsyng, but also the most noble of the greekes, whyche for their excellencie in prowesse and wisedom, were called halfe goddis, as Achilles, and his son Pirrhus; and dyuers other. Wherfore Homere, among the high benefites that god giueth to man, recitith daūsing. For he sayth in the fyfte booke of Iliados.

God grauteth to some mā prowesse martial
To a nother daūsing, with song harmonical

I Suppose ye, that the Romaynes, whiche in grauitie of maners passed the Grekes, had not gret pleasure in daunsyng? Did not Romulus, the fyrst kyng of Romaines, and builder of the cyte of Rome, ordeyne certain priestes and mynysters to the god Mars, whom he aduaunted to be his father? whyche priestes, for as moche as certayne tymes they daunsed about the cytie with tergates, that they ymagined to fall from heuen, were called in latine Salii, whyche into englysshe may be translated daūsers: who cōtinued so long tyme in reuerence amōg the Romains, that vnto the tyme that they were chrystned, the noble menne and princis chyldren there, vsyng moche diligence and suite, coueyted to be of the college of the sayde daunsers.

I Moreouer, the emperours, that were most noble, delited in daunsyng, perceiuyng therin to be a perfecte measure, whyche may be called modulation: wherin some daunsers of olde tyme soo wonderfully excelled, that they wolde playnely expresse in daunsyng, without anye wordes, or dytte, hystories with the hole circumstaunce of affayres in theym conteyned: wherof I shall reherse two maruaillouse experiences.

I At Rome, in the tyme of Nero, there was a philosopher called Demetrius, whiche was

of

of that secte, that for as moch as they abandoned all shamefastnes, in theyr wordes and actes, they were called Cinici, in englysshe doggysshe. This Demetrius often reprouing daunsyng, wold say, that there was nothing therin of anye importaunce, and that it was none other, but a counterfaytynge with the feete and handes, of the armonye that was shewed before in the rebecke, shalme & other instrumente, and that the motyons were but vayne and seperate from all vnderstandyng, and of no purpose or efficacie. Wherof hearyng a famouse dauncer, and one as it semed, that was not without good learnynge: and had in remembrance many histories, he came to Demetrius, and sayde vnto him: Syre I humbly desyre you, refuse not to doo me that honestie with your presence, in beholding me dance, which ye shal se me do without soune of any instrument. And than if it shal seme to you worthy dyspraysle, vtterlye banysshe and confoūde my science. Whervnto Demetrius graūted. The yong man daunced the aduoutry of Mars and Venus, and therin expressed howe Vulcane, husband to Venus, therof beyng aduertised by the sonne, layde snares for his wyfe and Mars: also howe they were wounden and tyed in Vulcanes nettes moreouer, how al the goddis came to the syrcable: finally howe Venus all ashamed and and blussyng, fearefully desyred her louer Mars to deliuer her from that perill, and the

reliqȳe conteyned in the table: whiche he did with so subtile and crafty gesture, with such a playne declaration of euery acte in the mater (whiche of all thing is most difficile) with suche a grace and trauise, also with a wit so wonderfull and pleasaunt, that Demetrius, as it semed, therat reioysynge and delytyng, cryed with a loude voyce: O man I doo not onely se, but also here what thou doest: And it semeth also to me, that with thy handes thou spekest. Which saying was confirmed by all them that were at that tyme present.

¶ The same yonge man longe and daunsed on a tyme before the emperour Nero, whan there was also present a straūge kyng which vnderstoode none other language but of his owne countreye: yet notwithstandynge, the man daunsed soo aptely and playnely, as his custome was, that the straunge kynge, although he perceyued not what he sayd, vnderstode euery deale of the matter. And whā he hadde taken his leaue of the emperour to departe, the emperour offered to gyue hym any thynge that be thoughte moughte be to his commoditie. Ye maye (sayde the kynge) bounteously rewarde me, yf ye lende me the yong man that daunsed before your maiestie. Nero wondryng, and requiring of him, why he soo importunatly desyred the daunser, or what commodytie the daunser moughte be vnto hym. Syre, sayde the kyng, I haue dyuers confins & neighbours, that be of condy-

lan-

angnages & maners, wherfore I haue often tymes nede of many interpretours. Wherfore yf I had this man with me, and shulde haue any thyng to do with my neyghbours, he wold so with his facion & gesture expresse euery thyng to me, and teache them to do the same, that from hensforth I shuld not haue nede of any interpretour.

¶ Also the auncient philosophers commended daunsyng: in soo moche, as Socrates, the wysest of all the grekes in his tyme, and frome whom all the sectes of phyiosophers, as from a fountayne were deriued, was not ashamed to accounte daunsynge amonge the serioule disciplines, for the cõmendable trauyse, for the apte and proportionate meuyng, and for the crafty disposition and facionyng of the body.

¶ It is to be considered, that in the said auncient time, there were diuers maners of daũsyng, whiche varied in the names, lykewyse as they dydde in tunes of the instrument, as semblablye, we haue at this daye. But those names, some were generall, some were especiall, the generall names were gyuen of the vniuersal fourme of daunsyng, wherby was represented the qualities or conditions of sondry astates: as the maiesty of princis was shewed in that daunse whyche was named Eumelia, and belonged to tragedies: dissolut motions, and wanton countenaũces, in that which was called Cordax, and pertained to

comedies: wherin men of base hauioue only daunsed. Also the fourme of battayle and fyghtynge in armure, was expressed in those daunces, whiche were called Enoplíæ. Also there was a kynde of daunsyng called Hormus of all the other moost lyke to that, whiche is at this time vsed. wherin daũsed yong menne and maydens: the manne expressynge in his motion and countenance strength and courage, apt for the warres: the mayden moderation and shamefastnes, whyche represented a pleasaunte communion of fortitude and temperaunce.

¶ In stede of these we haue now base daũces, bargenettes, paupons, turgions, and roundes. And as for the speciall names, they were taken as they be now, eyther of the names of the fyrste inuentours: or of the measure and noumbre that they do conteyne: or of the fyrste wordes of the ditie, whyche the longe cõprehendeth, wherof the daunce was made. In euerye of the sayde daunces, there was a concinnitie of meuynge the foote and body, expressyng some pleasant or profitable affectes or motions of the mynde.

¶ Here a manne maye beholde, what crafte was in thauncient tyme in daunsyng, which at this daye no man can imagine or conjecte. But yf menne wolde nowe applye the fyrste parte of theyr youthe, that is to say from seuen yeres, to twentie, effectually in the sciences liberall, and knowlege of hystoryes, they

shoulde

shulde reuiue the auncient fourme as well of daunsyng, as of other exercises. Whereof they mought take not onely pleasure, but also profyte and cõmoditie.

¶ Wherfore in the good order of daunsyng, a man and woman daunseth togyther. Cap. xxi.

IT is diligently to be noted, that the company of man and woman in daunsynge, they bothe obseruynge one noumbre and tyme in theyr meuynges, was not begonne without a speciall consyderation, as wel for the necessarye conuunction of those two persons, as for the intimation of sundry vertues: whiche be by them represented.

¶ And for as moche as by the ioynynge of a man and a woman in daunsyng may be sygnified matrimony, I could in declarynge the dignitie & cõmoditie of that sacrament, make intiere volumes, if it were nat so commonly knowen to all men, that almost euery freere lymitour caryeth it writtẽ in his bosome. Wherfore leste in repetynge a thynge so frequent and cõmune, my boke shulde be as fastidioule or fulsome to the readers, as suche marchant preachers be nowe to theyr customers, I wyll reuerently take my leaue of diuines. And for my parte, I wyll endeuour my selfe, to assemble out of the bokes of ancient poetes, and philosophers, matter alwel

apte to my purpose, as also newe, or at the leste wyse infrequent or seldom hard of them that haue nat radde verye many autours in greke and latine.

¶ But now to my purpose. In euery daūce of a moste auncient custome, there daunseth togyther a man and a womā, holding eche other by the hande or the arme, which betokeneth concorde. Nowe it behoueth the daunsers, and also the beholders of them, to know all qualities incident to a man, and also all qualities to a womā likewise appertainyng.

¶ A mannes qualities.

¶ A man in his naturall perfection is fierce, hardy, stronge in opinyon, couetous of glorye, desyrous of knowledge, appetityng by generation to bryngе forthe his semblable. The good nature of a woman is to be myld, timerous, tractable, benigne, of sure remembrance, & shamfast. Diuers other qualities of eche of them mought be found out, but these be most apparant, and for this tyme sufficiēt

¶ Wherfore whan we beholde a man and a woman daunsyng togyther, let vs suppose there to be a concorde of all the sayde qualyties, beinge ioyned togyther, as I haue sette them in order. And the meuynge of the man wold be more vehement, of the woman more delicate, and with lesse aduauncynge of the body, signifienge the courage and strengthe that ought to be in a man, & the pleasant sobrenesse that shulde be in a woman. And in this wyse Fiersenes, ioyned with Myldenes, maketh

keth Seuerítie: Hardyneſſe with Timeroſi-tie, maketh Magnanimitie, that is to ſay, valiant courage: Skilfull opinion and Tractabilitie (whiche is to be ſhortly perſwaded and meued) maketh Cõſtance, a vertu: Coueriſe of glory, adorned with benignitie, cauſeth honour: Deſyre of knowlege, with ſure remembrance, procureth Sapience: Shamfaſtnes ioyned to appetite of generatiõ, maketh Continence: which is a meane betwene Chaſtitie, and inordinate luſt. Theſe qualities, in this wyſe being knyt togyther, and ſignified in the perſonages of man and woman daunſyng, do expreſſe or ſette out the fygure of very nobilitie: which in the hygher eſtate it is conteyned, the more excellent is the vertue in eſtimation.

¶ Howe daunſyng may be an introduction vnto the fyrſt morall vertue called prudence. Capit. xxii.

AND I haue all redy affirmed, the principalle cauſe of this my lyttell enterpryſe, is to declare an Induction or meane, howe chyldren of gentyll nature or diſpoſition may be trayned into the waye of vertue with a pleaſant facilitie: And for as moche as it is very expedient, that there be myxt with ſtudy, ſome honeſt and moderate diſporte, or at the leſt way recreation, to recomfort and quycken the vitall ſpirites, leſte they

they longe trauaylyng or beyng moche occupied in contemplation or remembraunce of thinges graue and serious, mought happen to be fatigate, or perchaunce oppressed. And therfore Tully, who vneth founde euer any tyme vacant from studye, permytteth in his fyrst boke of offices, that men may vse play and disport: yet not withstandynge in suche wyse as they do vse sleepe and other maner of quyet, whan they haue sufficiently dispesed ernest matters & of weighty importance. ¶ Nowe bycause there is no pastyme to be compared to that, wherein maye be founden bothe recreation and meditation of vertue: I haue amonge all honest pastymes, wherin is exercyse of the body, noted daunsynge to be of an excellent vtilitie, comprehendyng in it wonderfull fygures (whiche the grekes do calle Idea) of vertues and noble qualities, and specially of the cõmodious vertue called
Ci.off.li.i. Prudence. prudence, whome Tullie defyneth to be the knowledge of thinges, whyche ought to be desyred and folowed: and also of them, whiche ought to be fledde from or eschewed. And it is named of Aristotle the mother of vertues, of other philosophers it is called the capytayne or maystresse of vertues, of some the house wyfe, for as moche as by her dylygence she dothe inuestigate and prepare places apt and conuenient, where other vertues
Proue.27. shall execute theyr powers or offices. Wherfore as Salomon sayth, Lyke as in water be

shewed

shewed the vylages of them that beholde it, so vnto men that be prudente, the secretes of mens hartes be openly discouered. This vertue being so commodious to man, and as it were the porche of the noble palayce of mās Reason, wherby all other vertues shall entre it semeth to me ryght expedient, that as sone as opportunitie maye be founden, a chylde or ponge man, be therto induced. And bycause that the studye of vertue is tedious for the more part to them that do flourysshe in yong yeres, I haue diuised, howe in the forme of daunsynge nowe late vsed in this realme among gentylmen, the hole description of this vertue prudence may be foūden out and well perceyued, as welle by the daunsers, as by them, whiche standyng by, wyll be dyligente beholders and markers, hauyng fyxte myne instruction surely grauen in the table of their remembrance. Wherfore all they that haue theyr courage styred towarde very honoure or perfect nobilitie, let them approche to this pastyme, and eyther them selues prepare thē to daunse, or els at the leste way behold with watchyng eyen, other that can daunse truly, keppynge iuste measure and tyme. But to the vnderstandyng of this instruction, they must marke well the sundry motions and measures, whiche in true forme of daunsyng is to be specially obserued.

¶ The fyxte meuing in euery daunse is called honour, whiche is a reuerent inclination

or

or curtesy, with a long deliberation or pause and is but one motion, comprehendynge the tyme of thre other motions or settyng forthe of the foote: By that may be signified, that at the beginning of all our actes, we shuld do due honour to god, whiche is the roote of prudence, whiche honour is compacte of these thre thynges, feare, loue, and reuerence. And that in the begynnynge of all thynges, we shuld auisedly, with som tract of time, behold and forsee the successe of our enterpryse.

Celeritie or quyckenes & slownes.

¶ By the seconde motion, whiche is two in numbre, may be signified celeritie and slowneſſe: whiche two, all be it they seme to dyscord in their effectes and natural proprieties: therefore they may be welle resembled to the

A braule.

braule in daunsyng (for in our englyshe tong we say, men do braule, whan betwene them is altercation in wordes) yet of the two springeth an excellent vertue, wherunto we lacke a name in englische. Wherfore I am constrained to vsurpe a latine worde, callyng it Maturitie, whiche worde though it be straunge and darke, yet by declarynge the vertue in a fewe mo wordes, the name ones brought in custome, shall be as easy to vnderstande as other wordes late commen out of Italy and Fraunce, and made denysens among vs.

Maturitie

¶ Maturitie is a meane betwene two extremities, wherin nothyng lacketh or excedeth, and is in suche astate, that it may neyther increase nor mynyshe without iolyng the de-

nomi-

nomination of Maturitie. The grekes in a prouerbe do expresse it properly in two wordes, whiche I can none otherwise interprete in englyshe, but spede the slowly.

σπεῦδε βρα δαιὸς,

¶ Also of this worde Maturitie, sprange a noble and precious sentence, recyted by Dalust in the battayle agaynst Catiline, whyche is in this maner or lyke, Consult before thou enterpryse any thyng, and after thou hast taken counsel, it is expedient to do it maturely.

Festina lente.

Priusquam incipias cõsulto. & Maturum.

Maturum in latyn may be interpreted ripe or redy, as fruite whan it is rype, it is at the very poynt to be gathered and eaten. And euery other thyng, whan it is redy, it is at the instant after to be occupied. Therefore that worde maturitie, is translated to the actes of man, that whan they be done with such moderation, that nothyng in the doyng may be seene superfluous or indigent, we maye saye that they be maturely doone: reseruyng the wordes ripe and redy, to fruit and other thinges separate from assayres, as we haue now in vsage. And this do I nowe remembre for the necessary augmentation of our langage.

¶ In the excellent and most noble emperour Octauius Augustus, in whome reygned all nobilitie, nothinge is more commended, than that he hadde frequently in his mouthe this worde Matura, doo maturely. As he shoulde haue sayde, do neyther to moche ne to lyttel, to soone ne to late, to swyftely nor slowely, but in due tyme and measure.

Nowe

¶ Nowe I truſt I haue ſufficiently expoũ-ded the vertue called Maturitie, whyche is the meane or medyocritie betweene ſlouthe and celeritie, comnionly called ſpedynes: and ſo haue I declared, what vtilitie may be taken of a braule in daunſyng.

¶ The thyrde and fourthe braunches of prudence. Capit. xxiii.

Syngles in daunſynge.

THe thyrde motion called ſyngles, is of two vnities ſeparate in pacynge forewarde: by whom maye be ſignifyed prouydence and induſtry, whyche after euery thyng maturely achieued, as is before wryten maketh the fyrſt pace forwarde in danſynge. But it ſhall be expedient to expounde, what is the thyng called Prouydence, forasmoche as it is not knowen to euery man.

Prouidẽce what it is.

¶ Prouydence is, wherby a man not onely foreſeeth commoditie and incõmoditie, proſperitie and aduerſitie, but alſoo conſulteth, and therwith endeuoureth as well to repelle annoyance, as to attayne and get profyt and aduauntage. And the difference betweene it and conſyderation is, that conſideration only conſyſteth in ponderyng and exampynge thynges, conceyued in the mynde: Prouydence in helpynge theym with counſayle and acte. Wherfore to conſyderation pertayneth excogitation and auyſement, to prouydence, prouiſion and executiõ. For lyke as the good

husbande

husbande, whan he hath sowen his ground, setteth vp cloughtes or thredes, which some call shayles, some blenchars, or other lyke shewes, to feare away byrdes, which he forseeth redye to deuoure and hurte his corne, also perceyuyng the improfytable wedes appering, whyche wyll anoye his corne or herbes, forth with wedeth them clene out of his grounde, and wyll not suffre them to growe or encreasle. Semblablye, it is the parte of a wyse man to forsee and prouide, that either in suche thynges, as he hath acquired by his study or diligence, or in suche affayres as he hath in hande, he be not indomaged or empesched by his aduersaries.

¶ In lyke maner a gouernour of a publyke weale ought to prouide as well by menaces, as by sharpe and terryble punysshementes, that persons yuell and vnprofytable, do not corrupte and deuoure his good subiectes.

Fynallye there is in prouidence suche an admyration and maiestie, that not onelye it is, attributed to kynges and rulers, but also to god creatour of the worlde.

¶ Industrie hath not ben so long tyme vsed in the englysche tonge, as Prouidence: wherfore it is the more strange, and requireth the more playne exposition. It is a qualitie, procedyng of wytte and experience, by the whiche a manne perceyueth quickely, inuenteth freshely, and counsayleth spedily: wherfore they that be called Industrious, doo mooste Industry.

craftely and depely vnderstande in all affayres, what is expedient, and by what meanes and wayes, they may honest exployte theym. And those thinges, in whome other men trauayle, a person industreous lyghtly and with facilitie spedeth, and findeth new wayes and meanes to bryng to effecte that he desyreth.

Alcibiades.

¶ Amonge dyuers other remembred in hystoryes, suche one amonge the greekes, was Alcibiades, who beynge in chyldehoode moost ampable of all other, and of moost subtyle wytte, was instructed by Socrates. The sayde Alcibiades, by the sharpenes of his wytte, the doctrine of Socrates, and by his owne experience in sondry affayres in the commune weale of the Athenienses, became soo industrious, that were it good or yuell that he enterprysed, nothyng almoste escaped that he acheued nat, were the thyng neuer so difficyle (or as who sayth) impenitrable: and that manye sondrye thinges, as well for his countrey, as also agayne it, after that, he for his inordinate pryde and lechery was out of Athenes exyled.

Iul. Celar

¶ Among the Romains, Caius Julius Celar, which first toke vpon him the perpetual rule and gouernaunce of the empire, is a noble exaumple of industrie, for in his incõparable warres, and busines almost incredible, he dyd not onely excogitat moost excellent policies and deuyses, to vanquyshe or subdewe his ennemies, but also prosecuted them with

suche

ſuche celerytie and effecte, that dyuers and manye tymes he was in the campe of his enemyes, or at the gates of their townes, or fortreſſes, whan they ſuppoſed, that he & his hoſte had ben two days iourney from thens, leauyng to theym no tyme or leyſure, to conſult or prepare again him ſufficiēt reſiſtence. And ouer that, this qualitie, Induſtriē, ſo reigned in hym, that he him ſelfe wolde miniſtre to his ſecretaries at one tyme & inſtante, the contcates of thre ſondrye epyſtles or letters. Alſoo it is a thyng wonderfull to remembre, that he beyng a prynce of the moſte auncient and noble houſe of the Romaines, and from the tyme that he came to mannes aſtate, almoſt continually in warres, alſo of glory inſatiable, of courage inuicible, couide in affaires of ſuche importaunce and difficultie, or (whyche is moche more to be meruayled at nowe) wolde ſoo exactly wryte the hiſtorye of his owne actis and geſtes: that for the nature & inimitable eloquence, in expreſſyng the counſailes, deuiſes cōuentions, progreſſions, interpryſes, exploitures, fourmes, and factiōs of imbatayling, he ſeemeth to put all other wryters of lyke matters to ſylence.

¶ Here is the perfecte paterne of induſtrye, whiche I truſt ſhall ſuffyce to make the pryue ſignification therof, to be vnderſtand of the reders. And conſequently to incenſe them to approche to the true practiſyng therof.

¶ Soo is the lengies declared in theſe two

qualities, Pzouidence and Industrie, which ſeriouſely noted, and often remembzed of the daunſers and beholders, ſhall acquire to thē no lytel fruite and commoditie, yf there be in theyz mynds any good and laudable matter foz vertue to warke in.

¶ Of the fyfte bzaunche called circumſpection, ſhewed in repzinſe. Cap. xxiii.

Repzinſe in daūſing.

COmmonly nexte after ſingles in daūſing is a repzinſe, whiche is one mouyng onely, puttyng backe the ryght fote to his felowe: And that may be wel called circūſpection, whiche ſignifieth as moch, as beholding on euery part, what is wel and ſufficient, what lacketh, how, & from whens it maye be pzouided: Alſo what hath cauſed pzofyte oz damage in the tyme paſſed, what is the aſtate of the tyme pzeſente, what aduauntage oz peryl maye ſuccede, oz is immiment. And bycauſe in it is cōteyned a deliberation in hauing regard to that that foloweth, and is alſo of affynitie with pzoudence and induſtrie, I make hym in the fourme of a retreat. In this motion a man may, as it were on a mountayne oz place of eſpiall, beholde on euery ſyde farre of, meaſuryng and eſtemyng euery thyng: and eyther purſewe it, yf it be commendable, oz eſchewe it, if it be noyfull. This qualitie (lyke as pzouidence and induſtre is) is a bzaūche of Pzudence, whiche ſome

some call the pryncesse of vertues: and it is not only expedient, but also nedefull to euery astate and degree of menne, that doo contynue in the lyfe called actiue.

¶ In the Iliados of Homere, the noble duke Nestor, a man of meruaylous eloquēce & long experience, as he that lyued thre mens lyues, as he there auanteth, in the counsayle that he gaue to Agamemnon, to reconcile to hym Achilles, the moste strong and valyante manne of all the greekes, he persuaded Agamemnon specially to be cyrcumspecte, declareyng, howe that the pryuate contention betwene them, shuld replenische the hooste of the Greekes with moche dolour: wherat kynge Priamus and his chyldren shuld laugh, and the residue of the Troyanes in their mindes, shoulde reioyse and take courage. Nestor.

¶ Amonge the Romayns Quintus Fabius for this qualitie is soueraignelye extolled amonge hystoriens: and for that cause he is often tymes called of them Fabius cūctator, that is to say, the tarier or delayer. For in the warres betwene the Romaynes and Annibal, he knowyng all costes of the countray, continuelly kepte him and his hoste on mountaynes and hyghe places, within a small distaunce of Hanniballes armie: so that nether he wolde flee from his ennmies, nor yet ioyne with them battayle. By whiche wonderfull policie, he causled Annibal so to trauaile, that some tyme for lacke of vittayle, and for we-

Fabius.

tynesse, great multitudes of his hooste perys shed. Also he oftentymes awayted theym in dangerous places, vnredy, and than skyrmis shed with theym, as longe as he was sure to haue of them aduantage, & after he repayred to the hygh places adioynyng, vsyng his accustomed maner to beholde the passage of Annibalie. And by this meanes, this mooste circumspecte capitayn Fabius, wonderfully infeblyd the powar of the sayde Annibalie, whyche is no lasse estemed in prayse, than the subduyng of Cartage by the valyaunt Scipio. For yf Fabius had not soo fatigate Annibal and his hoste, he had shortly subuerted the eytie of Rome, and than coulde not Scipio haue bene able to acheue that enterprise.

King Hēry the seuēth.

¶ What more clere mirror or spectacle can we delyre of circūspection, than king HENRY the SEVENTH, of moste noble memorie, father vnto our moste dread soueraigne lord, whose worthy renome, like the sonne in the mydes of his sphere, shyneth & euer shall shine in mens remembrance? what incōparable circumspection was in hym alway founden, that notwithstandyng his long absence out of this realme, the disturbāce of the same by sondry seditions among the Nobilite, Ciuile warres and batayles, wherin infynitie people were slayne, besyde skyrmysshes and slaughters in the priuat contentions and factions of dyuers gentilmen, the lawes layde in water (as is the prouerbe) affection & auarice,

eyee, subduyng iustice and equitie: Yet by his moſt excellent wit, he in fewe yeres, not only brought this realme in good order, and vnder due obedience, reuiued the lawes, auanced Iuſtice, refurnyſhed his dominions, and repayred his manours, but alſoo with ſuche circumſpection treated with other pryncis and realmes, of leages, of aliaunce, and amities, that during the more part of his reigne, he was lytle or nothyng inquieted wythoute warre hoſtilite or martiall buſineſſe. And yet all other pryncis eyther feared hym, or hadde hym in a fatherly reuerence. Whiche prayſe with the honoure therunto dewe, as inheritaunce deſcendeth by ryghte vnto his mooſte noble ſonne, our mooſte dere ſouerayne lorde that nowe preſently reigneth. For as Tullie ſayth, The beſt inheritance, that the fathers leaue to their childre, excelling al other patrimonie, is the glory or praiſe of vertue & noble actis: and of ſuch fayre inheritance his highnes maye compare with any prince that euer reigned, whiche he daily augmenteth, adding therto other ſondry vertues, whyche I forbeare now to reherſe, to the intent I wyll exclude all ſuſpitiō of flatterie, ſens, I my ſelfe in this warke doo ſpecially reproue it. But that which is preſently knowen, and is in experience nedeth no monument. And vnto ſoo excellent a prynce, there ſhall not lacke herafter condigne wryters to regyſter his actes, with eloquent ſtyle in perpetual remēbrance.

¶ Of the syxte seuenth and eyght braunches of prudence. Cap. xxv.

A Double in daunsyng is compacte of the nombre of thre, wherby maye be noted these thre branches of prudence, election, experience, and modestie: by them the sayde vertue of prudence is made complete, and is in her perfection. Election is of an excellente power and auctorite, and hath suche a maiestie, that she wyll not be approched vnto of euerye man. For some there be, to whom she denyeth her presence, as chyldren naturall fooles, menne beyng frantike, or subdued with affectes, alsoo they that be subiectes to flatterers and proude menne. In these persones reason lacketh lybertie, whiche shulde prepare theyr entrie vnto election.

Election.

This election, whych is part, and as it were a membre of prudence, is beste described by

Opportunitie.

Opportunitie, whyche is the principall parte of counsaylle, and is compacte of these thynges folowynge.

¶ The importaunce of the thynge consulted, The facultie & power of hym that cõsulteth. The time whã. The fourme how, The substance wherwith to do it, The dispositiõ and vsages of the countreis, For whom and agayne whom it oughte to be done. All these thynges prepensed and gathered togyther seriously, and after a due examination, euery of them iustly pondred in the balance of reason,

reason, Immediately commeth the auctority of election, who taketh on her to appoynte, what is to be effectually folowed or pursued reiectynge the relydue. And than ought experience to be at hande, to whom is commytted the actuall execution. For without her, Election is frustrate, and all inuention of man is but a fantasy. And therfore who aduisedly beholdeth the astate of mans lyfe, shal well perceyue, that all that euer was spoken or wryten, was to be executed, and to that intent was speche specially gyuen to man, wherin he is moste discrepant, from brute beastis, in declarynge by theym what is good, what vicious, what is profytable, what improfytable, whiche by clerenesse of wytte to excell in knowledge to these that be of a more inferiour capacitie. And what vtilitie shulde be acquyred by suche declaration, if it shuld not be experienced with diligence?

Experience or executiō.

¶ The philosopher Socrates had not be named of Apollo the wyseste man of all Grecia, yf he had not dayely practysed the vertues, whiche he in his lessons commended.

Socrates.

¶ Julius Cesar, the fyrst emperor, although there were in hym moche hydde learnyng, in so moche as he fyrst founde the order of our kalendre, with the cikle and bysext, called the leape yere: Yet is he not so moche honoured for his learnynge, as he is for his diligence, wherwith he exploited or brought to conclusion those counsayles, whiche as well by his

Jul. Cesar

excellent lernyng and wisedom, as by the aduyse of other expert counsaylours were before treated, and (as I mought say) vētilate.

¶ Who wyll not repute it a thynge vayne and scornefull, and more lyke to a maygame, than a matter serious or cōmendable, to beholde a personage, whiche in speche or wrytyng, expresseth nothynge but vertuous maners, sage and discrete counsayles and holy aduertisementes: to be resolued into all vyces, folowyng in his actes nothynge that he hym selfe in his wordes approueth and teacheth to other?

¶ Who shal any thing esteme theyr wisdom which with great studies fynd out remedies and prouisions necessary for thinges dysordred or abused, & where they them selfes may execute it, they leaue it vntouched, whereby theyr deuises, with the sown that pronoūced them, be vanyshed and come to nothyng?

¶ Semblably it is to be thought in all other doctryne. Wherfore as it seemed, it was not without consyderation affyrmed by Tullie, that the knoweledge and contemplation of Natures operations were lame and in a maner imperfecte, if there folowed none actuall experience. Of this shall be more spoken in the later ende of this warke.

¶ Herewith wolde be conioyned or rather myxte with it, the vertue called Modestye: whiche by Tulli is defyned to be the knowlege of opportunitie of thynges to be done or

Modestie.

Off. i.

spoken

spoken, in appoyntyng and settyng them in tyme or place to them conuenient and propre. Wherfore it semeth, to be moch lyke to that whyche men cõmonly call discretion. All be it discretio in latine signifieth Separation: wherin it is more lyke to Election. But as it is commonly vsed, it is not onely lyke to modestie, but it is the selfe Modestie. For he that forbeareth to speake, although he can do it bothe wysely and eloquently, bycause neither in the tyme nor in the herers, he fyndeth opportunitie, so that no fruite may succede of his speche, he therfore is vulgarely called a discrete person. Discretio.

¶ Semblably they name hym discrete, that punysheth an offendour lesse than his merytes do requyre, hauyng regard to the weakenes of his persone, or to the aptenes of his amendement. Discrete.

¶ So do they in the vertue called Liberalitie, where in gyuyng, is had consyderation, as well of the condition, and necessitie of the persone that receyueth, as of the benefytte that commeth of the gyfte receyued. In cuery of these thynges and theyr semblable, is Modestye: Whyche worde not beinge knowen in the englysche tongue, ne of all theym, whyche vnderstode latine, excepte they had red good auctours, they improprely named this vertue discretion. And nowe some men do as moche abuse the word modestie, as the other dyd discretion. For if a man haue a sad Liberalitie

Modestye abused.

coun-

countenance at all tymes, & yet not beyng mo-
ued with wrath, but pacięt, & of most gentyl-
nes, they which wold be sene to be lerned, wil
say that the mā is of a great modesty. where
they shuld rather say, that he were of a great
Manſue-tude. manſuetude: whiche terme beyng semblably
before this tyme vnknowen in our tongue,
may be by the suffrance of wyse men, nowe
receiued by custome, wherby the terme shalbe
made familiare. That like as the Romaines
translated the wisedome of Grecia into their
citie, we may, if we lyste, bryng the lerninges
and wisedomes of thē bothe into this realme
of England, by the translation of theyr war-
kes, sens lyke enterpryse hathe bene taken by
frenche men, Italions, and Germayns, to our
no lyttle reproche for our negligence & slouth.
¶ And thus I conclude the last part of daū-
sing, whiche diligently beholden, shall appere
to be as wel a necessary study, as a noble and
vertuouse pastime, vsed and continued in su-
che fourme as I hytherto haue declared.

¶ Of other exercises, whiche if they be mo-derately vsed, be to euery astate of man expediente. Cap. xxvi.

I Haue shewed howe huntyng and daūsing
may be in the numbre of commendable ex-
ercise, and passetymes, not repugnaunt to
vertue. And vndoubted, it were muche bettre
to be occupied in honest recreation, than to do
nothynge

nothynge. For it is layd of a noble auctour, In doynge nothyng, men learne to do yuell. And Ouidius the poet layth,

If thou flee ydelnes, Cupide hath no might. His bow lieth broken, his fire hath no light. Ouid. de re medio amoris.

¶ It is not onely called ydelnes, wherin the body or mynde ceaseth from labour, but specially ydelnes is an omission of all honest exercise: the other may be better called a vacation from serious busynesse, which was somtyme embraced of wyse men and vertuous. Idelnes.

¶ It is writen to the prayse of Xerxes kyng of Persia, that in tyme vacant from the affayres of his realme, he with his owne handes, had planted innumerable trees, whiche longe or he died, brought forthe abundance of fruite, and for the craftye and dylectable ordre in the settyng of theym, it was to all men, beholding the princis industry, exceding meruaylous. Kyng Xerxes.

¶ But who abhorreth not the hystorye of Sardanapalus, kynge of the same realme: whiche hauinge in detestation, al princely affayres, and leauyng all company of men, enclosed hym selfe in a chamber, with a greate multytude of concubynes: and for that he wolde seme to be sometyme occupied, or els that wanton plesures and quietnesse became to hym tedious, he was found by one of his lordes in a womans attyre spynnyng in a distaffe among persons defamid, which knowe Sardanapalus.

abrode,

abyde, was to the people so odious, that fynally by them he was bourned, with all the place, wherto he fledde for his refuge.

Playinge at dyse.

¶ And I suppose there is not a more playn figure of ydelnesse, than playing at dise. For beside, that therin is noo maner of exercyse of the body or mynde, they whych play therat, muste seeme to haue no portion of wytte or kunnyng, if they wyll be called fayre players, or in some companye auoyde the stabbe of a dagger, if they be taken with any crafty conueyance. And bycause alway wyfedom is therin suspected, there is seldom any playing at dyse, but therat is vehement chydyng and brawlyng, horrible othes, cruel, and sometyme mortall menacis. I omyt strokes, whiche nowe and than doo happen, oftentymes betwene bretherne and moste dere frendes, if fortune bringe alway to one man yuel chances, whyche maketh the playe of the other suspected. O why shuld that be called a play whyche is compacte of malyce and robbery? Undoubtedly they that wryte of the fyrst inuentions of thynges, haue good cause to suppose Lucifer, prince of dyuelles, to be the fyrst inuentour of dyse playing, and hell the place where it was founden, although some do wryte, that it was fyrst inuented by Attalus. For what better allectiue coulde Lucifer deuyse, to allure and bringe men pleasantely into damnable seruitude, than to purpose to them in forme of a play, his principal treson wher-

The treson of Lucifer.

wherin the more part of synne is contayned and all goodnes and vertue confounded?

¶ The fyrst occasyon to play, is tediousnes of vertuous occupation: Immediately succedeth couaytyng of an other mans goodes, whiche they calle playnge: therto is annexed auarice and strayte kepyng, whyche they call wynnyng, soone after commeth swearynge, in rentynge the membres of god, whych they name noblenesse (for they wyll saye, he that sweareth depe, sweareth lyke a lorde) than foloweth fury or rage, whiche they call courage: amōg them cometh inordinate watche, which they name paynfulnes: he bryngeth in gluttony, and that is good felowshyp: and after commeth slepe superfluous, called amonge them naturall rest: and he sometyme bryngeth in lechery: whiche is nowe named dalyance. The name of this treasory is verily idelnes: the doore wherof is left wyde open to dyse players: if they hap to bryng in their company, lernyng, vertuous busynes, liberalitie, pacience, charitie, temperance, good diet or shamefastnes, they must leaue them without the gates. For yuell custome, whiche is the porter, wyll not suffre them to enter. Custom.

¶ Alas what pitie is it, that any christen mā shulde by wanton companye be trayned, I wyll no more say into this Treasory, but into this lothesome dungeon, where he shall lye fetered in chaynes of ignorauncē, and bounden with the stronge chayne of obstinacye, harde

harde to be loſed but by grace.

¶ The moſt noble emperour Octauius Auguſtus, who hath amonge wryters in diuers of his actes an honorable remembrance: only for playing at dyce, and that but ſeldom, ſuſteyneth in hyſtories a note of reproche.

Counſayllers diſers.

¶ The Lacedemonians ſent an ambaſſade to the citie of Counthe, to haue with theym alyance: but whan the ambaſſadours foũde the princis and counſaylors, playing at dice they departed without exployting theyr meſſage, ſaying, that they wolde not maculate the honour of theyr people, with ſuche a reproche, to be layde, that they had made alyance with dycars.

¶ Alſo to Demetrius, the kynge of Parthians ſent golden dyce in the rebuke of his lyteneſſe.

The eſtimation of dycars.

¶ Euery thynge is to be eſteemed after his value. But who herynge a man, whome he knoweth not, to be called a dycar, dothe not anone ſuppoſe hym to be of lyghte credence, diſſolute, vayne, and rempſſe? who almoſte truſteth his brother, whō he knoweth a dice player? yea amonge them ſelues they laugh, whan they perceyue or here any doctrine or vertuouſe worde proceede from any of theyr companyons, thynkynge that it becommeth not his perſon: moche moze whan he doth any thyng with deuotion or wyſedome.

¶ Howe many gentylmen, howe many marchantes, haue in this damnable paſtime conſumed

sumed their substance, as wel by theyr owne labours, as by theyr parentes, with greate study and peynefull trauayle in a longe tyme acquyred, and fynished their lyues in dette and penury? Howe many goodly and bolde yemenne hath it brought vnto theft, wherby they haue pzeuented the course of nature, and dyed by the ozder of the lawes myserably? These be the fruites and reuennues of that dyuylsche marchaundise, besyde the fynal reward, whiche is moze terryble, the repozte wherof I leaue to dyuines, such as feare not to shewe theyr lernynges, oz fyll not theyr mouthes so full with swete meates, oz benefyces, that theyr tonges be not let to speake trouth: foz that is theyr dutie and offyce, excepte I with many other be moze disceyued.

¶ Playinge at cardes and tables is some what moze tollerable, onely foz as moche as therin wytte is moze vsed, and lesse trusted in foztune, all be it therin is neyther laudable study noz exercyse. But yet men delityng in vertue, moughte with cardes & tables deuise games, where in moughte be moch solace and also study cõmodiouse, & deuysyng a batayle, oz contention betwene vertue and vice, oz other lyke pleasaunt and honeste inuention. Cardes & tables,

¶ The chesse of all games, wherin is no bodily exercyse, is mooste to be commended, foz therin is ryghte subtyle engine, wherby the witte is made moze sharpe, and remembzance quyckened. And it is the moze cõmendable & also commodious, if the players hauered the Chesse,

moralizacion of the chesse, & whan they play e do thinke vpō it: whiche bokes ꝛ in englysh. But they be verye scarse, bycause fewe men doo seeke in plaies for vertue or wysedome.

That shotynge in a longe bowe is principall of all other exercises. Cap. xxvii.

TVlli saith in his first boke of Offices, We be not to that intent brought vp by nature, that we shoulde seme to be made to playe and dispoꝛt, but rather to grauitie and studies of moꝛe estymation. Wherfoꝛe it is wꝛyten of Alexander, emperoure of Rome, foꝛ his grauitie called Seuerus, that in his chyldehode, and befoꝛe he was taught the letters of greeke oꝛ latine, he neuer exercised any other playe oꝛ game, but onely one, wherin was a similitude of Justice: & therfoꝛe it was called in latine Ad Iudices, which is in englysshe to the iuges. But the fourme therof is not expꝛessed by the sayde auctour, noꝛ none other that I haue redde. Wherfoꝛe I wyll repayꝛe agayne to the residue of honest exercyse.

Exercise foꝛ preseruynge of helthe,

And foꝛ as moche as Galene in his seconde booke of the pꝛeseruation of helth, declareth to be in them these qualities oꝛ diuersities, that is to saye, that some be done with extendynge of myghte, and as it were vyolentely, and that is called valyaunt exercyse: Some with swyfte oꝛ hasty motion, other with

with strengthe and celeritie, and that maye be called vehemente: The particular kyndes of euery of them, he declaryeth, whiche were to longe here to be reherced.

¶ But in as moche as he also saythe, that he that is of good state in his body, oughte to knowe the power and effecte of euerye exercyse: but he nedethe not to practyse anye other, but that whiche is moderate and meane betwene euery extremitie: I wyll nowe briefly declare, in what exercyse nowe in custume amonge vs, maye be moste founde of that mediocritie, and maye be augmented or minished, at the pleasure of hym that dothe exercyse, wythoute therby appayrynge anye parte of delectation or commodytie therof procedyng.

¶ And in myne opinion, none maye be compared with shootyng in the longe bowe, and that for sondrye vtylities that come therof, wherin it incomparablye excellethe all other exercyse. For in drawyng of a bow, easy and congruent to his strengthe, he that shooteth, dothe moderately exercise his armes, and the other parte of his bodye: and yf his bowe be bygger, he muste adde to more strength, wherin is no lesse valiaunte exercyse than in anye other, wherof Galene writeth

¶ In shootyng at buttes, or broade arowe markes, is a mediocrytie of exercyse of the lower partes of the bodye and legges, by goyng a lyttell dystaunce a measurable pace. At

The commendation of shoting in a longe bowe.

touers or pykes, it is at his pleasure that shoteth, howe faste or softly he lysteth to go: and yet is the prayse of the shooter, neyther more ne lesse, for as farre or nygh the marke is his arow, whan he goeth softly, as whan he renneth.

Tenyse. ¶ Tenyse, selledome vsed, and for a lyttell space, is a good exercyse for yong menne, but it is more vyolente than shotyng, by reason that two menne do play. Wherfore neyther of theym is at his owne lybertie to measure the exercyse. For yf the one stryke the balle harde, the other that intendeth to receyue hym, is than constrayned to vse semblable vyolence, yf he wyll retourne the ball frome whens it came to hym. If it trill faste on the grounde, and he intendeth to stoppe or yf it rebounde a great dystaunce frome hym, and he wold eftsones returne it, he can not than kepe any measure in swyftnes of motion.

¶ Some menne wolde saye, that in mediocritie, whyche I haue soo moche praysed in shootyng, why shoulde not boulyng, claishe, pynnes, and hoytyng, be as moche commended? Verily as for two the laste be to be vtterly abiected of all nobie menne in like wyse foote balle, wherin is nothyng but beastely fury, and extreme violence, wherof procedeth hurte, and consequently raucour and malice do remayne with theym that be wounded. Wherfore it is to be put in perpetual silence.

¶ In clayse is employed to lyttell strength,

in

to boulynge often tymes to moche, whereby the sinewes be to moch strained, and the veines to moche chafed: wherof often tymes is sene to ensue ache, or the decreas of strength or agilitie in the armes, where, in shotyng, yf the shoter vse the strength of his bow within his owne tiller, he shall neuer be therwith greued or made more feble.

¶ Also in shotyng is a double vtilitie, wherin it excelleth all other exercyses and games incomparably. The one is that it is, and alway hath ben, the most excellent artillery for warres, whereby this realme of Englande hath ben not onely best defended from outewarde hostilitie, but also in other regions a fewe englyshe archers haue ben sene to preuayle agaynst people innumerable. Also won impregnable cytes strong holdes, and kepte theym in the myddes of the strength of their enemyes. This is the feate, wherby englyshe menne haue ben most drabbe and had in estimation with outward princis, as well ennemyes as alies. And the commodytie therof hath ben approued as far as Hierusalem, as it shall appere in the lyues of Rycharde the fyrst and Edward the fyrste, kynges of Englande, who made seuerall iourneys to recouer that holye cytie of Hierusalem into the possession of christen men, and achieued them honorablye, the rather by the power of this feate of shootynge.

Decay of archers.

¶ The premisses considered, O what cause

of reproche shall the decaye of archers be to vs now ensuinge? Ye what irrecuperable damage eyther to vs or theym, in whose tyme nede of semblable defence shall happen? whiche decaye, though we al redy perceiue, feare, and lament, and for the restoryng therof cease not to make ordynaunces good lawes and statutes: yet who effectually putteth his hand to contynuall execution of the same lawes and prouisyons? or beholdyng theym daylye broken, winketh not at the offendours? But I shall hereof more speke in an nother place, and retourne nowe to the seconde vtylytie, founde in shotyng in the longe bowe, whiche is killynge of dere, wylde foule, and other game, wherin is bothe profyte and pleasure aboue any other artyllery.

¶ And veryly I suppose, that before crosbowes and handgunnes were broughte into this realme, by the sleyght of our ennemies, to thentente to distroye the noble defence of archerye, contynuall vse of shootynge in the longe bowe made the feate soo perfecte and exacte amonge englysshe men, that they than as surely and soone killed suche game, whiche they lysted to haue, as they nowe can do with the crossebowe or gunne. But this suffyseth, for the declaration of shotyng, whereby it is sufficiently proued, that it incomparably excelleth all other exercyse, passyme, or solace.

¶ And hereat I conclude to wryte of exercyse.

eyse, whyche apperteyneth as well to pryn-
cis, and noble menne, as to all other by theyr
example: whiche determyne to passe forthe
theyr liues in vertue and honestie: And here-
after, with the assystence of god, vnto whom
I render this myne accounte: for the ta-
lent that I haue of hym receyued, I
purpose to write of the principal
and (as I mought saye) the
partyculare studye and
affaires of him that
by the prouidēce
of God, is
called to
the
moost difficult cure
of a publyke
weale.

Libri primi
finis.

THE SECONDE BOKE.

Cwhat thynges he that is elected or appoynted to be a gouernour of a publike weale, ought to premeditate.

Capitulo. I.

IN THE BOKE PRE cedyng I haue (as I truste) sufficiently declared, as well what is to be called a verye and ryghte publyke weale, as also, that there shoulde be therof one prynce and souerayne aboue all other gouernours. And I haue also expressed my conceyte and opinion, touchyng not only the studies, but also the exercyses concerning the necessarye education of noble menne and other, called to the gouernaunce of a publike weale, in such fourme as by the noble example of theyr lyues, and the fruite therof commynge, the publyke weale that shall happen to be vnder theyr gouernaunce, shal not faile to be accounted happy, and the auctoryte on theym to be employed well and foztunately. Nowe wyll I treate of the preparation of suche personages, whan they fyrste receyue any great dignitie charge or gouernaunce of the weale publyke.

Preparation of gouernours.

Fyrst

¶ FIRST ſuche perſons, beyng now adulte, that is to ſaye, paſſed theyr chyldehode, as wel in maners, as in yeres, if for their vertues and learnynge, they happe to be called to receyue any dignitie, they ſhulde fyrſte amoue al company from them, and in a ſecrete oratory or priuy chaumber, by them ſelfe aſſemble all the powers of theyr wyttes, to remembre theſe. vii. artycles, whyche I haue not of myne owne head deuyſed, but gathered as well out of holy ſcripture, as out of the warkes of other excellent wryters of famous memorye, as they ſhall ſoone perceiue, whiche haue radde and perused good autors in greke and latyne.

¶ Fyrſt and aboue all thyng, let them conſyder, that from god onely procedeth all honour, And that neyther noble progenye, ſucceſſion, nor election to be of ſuche force, that by them any eſtate or dignitie may be ſo ſtabliſhed, that god being fyxed to vengeāce, ſhall not worthely reſume it, and perchaunce tranſlate it where it ſhall lyke hym. And for as moche as examples greatly do profyte in the ſtede of experience, here ſhall it be neceſſary, to remembre the hyſtory of Saul, whō god hym ſelfe elected to be the fyrſte kyng of Iſraell, that where god commanded him by the mouthe of Samuell the prophet, that for as moche as the people called Amalech, had reſyſted the chyldren of Iſraell, whan they fyrſt departed from Egypte, he ſhulde there-

The fyrſte conſideration of gouernours.

Saul and Amalech.

foze distroy all the countrey, and slee men wo men and chyldzen, all beastis and cattell, and that he shoulde nothyng saue oz kepe therof. But Saul after that he hadde vanquyshed Amalech, and taken Agag kynge therof pry- soner, he hauyng on hym compassyon, saued his lyfe only. Also he pzeserued the best oxen, cattell, and vestures, and all other thyng that was fayzest, & of most estimation, and wolde not consume it, accozdynge as god had com- maunded hym, saying to Samuell, that the people kepte it to the entent, that they wolde make therof to almyghty god a solempne sa- cryfyce. But Samuel repzouyng hym sayd, Better, is Obedience, than Sacrifyce. with other wozdes that folowe in the hystozye. Fynally foz that offence only, almyghty god abiected Saul, that he shulde no moze reigne ouer Israel: and caused Samuel fozthewith to enoynte Dauid king, the yongest sonne of a poze man of Bethleem, named Isai, whyche he was kepyng his fathers shepe.

Obedi- ence.

¶ Sens foz ones neglectynge the comman- dement of god, and that neyther naturall pi- tie, noz the entent to doo sacryfice, with that whiche was saued, mought excuse the trans- gressyon of goddis commandement, noz my- tigate his greuous displeasure: howe vigi- lant ought a chzisten man, beyng in auctoz- ite, howe vigilant (I saye) industrious & dili- gent ought he to be in the adminystration of a publyke weale? dzedynge alwaye the woz-

des,

des, that be spoken by eternalle sapience to them that be gouernours of publike weales, All power and vertue is gyuen of the lorde, that of al other is hyghest, who shal examine youre bedes, and inserche youre thoughtes: For whan ye were the mynysters of this reame, ye iudged not vpryghtely, ne obserued the lawe of Justyce, nor ye walked not accordyng to his pleasure. He shal shortely and terribly appiere vnto you. For moste harde and greuous iudgemente, shall be on theym, that haue rule ouer other. To the poore man mercy is graunted, but the great menne shal suffre great turmentes. He that is lorde of al excepteth no persomne, no he shall feare the greatnes of any man, for he made as wel the greate as the small, and careth for euerye of them equally. The strōger or of more myght the persomne is: the stronger peyne is to hym immynente. Therfore to you gouernours be these my wordes, that ye maye learne wysedome, and faile not.

The wordes of sapiēce to gouernours. Sapience.

¶ This notable sentence is not onelye to be imprynted in the hartes of gouernours, but also to be oftentymes reuolued and called to remembrance.

¶ They shall not thynke, howe moche honour they receyue, but howe moche care and burdeyne. Ne they shall not muche esteme theyr reuenues and treasure, consyderyng that it is no buten or praye, but a laborious office and trauayle.

The.ii. consideration.

¶ Let

The third. ¶ Let them thynke, the greatter dominion they haue, that thereby they sustayne the more care and studye. And that therfore they must haue the lasse solace and pastyme, and to sensuall pleasures lasse opportunitie.

The. viii. ¶ Also whan they beholde theyr garmentes and other ornamentes, ryche and precious, they shall thynke, what reproche were to them to surmount in that, whyche be other mens workes and nat theyrs, and to be vanquysshed of a poore subiect in sundry vertues wherof they them selues be the artificers.

The syxte. ¶ They that regarde them, of whome they haue gouernance, no more than shall appertayne to theyr owne pryuate commodities, they no better esteme them than other menne dothe theyr horses and mules, to whom they employ no lasse labour and diligence, not to the benefite of the sely beastis, but to theyr owne necessities and syngular aduantage.

The syxte. ¶ The moste sure foundation of noble renoume is a man to be of suche vertues and qualities, as he desyreth to be openly publysshed: For it is a faynt prayse, that is gotten with feare, or by flatterers gyuen, and the same is but fume, whyche is suppozted with silence prouoked by menacis.

The. vii. ¶ They shall also consyder, that by theyr preemynence, they syt as it were on a pyllar on the toppe of a mountayne, where all the people do beholde them, not only in theyr ope affayres, but also in theyr secrete pastymes,

pryuy

pryuye dalyaunce, or other vnprofytable or wanton conditions, whyche doo alway imbrace that study, wherin they⁊ mayster delyteth, accordyng to the saying of Jesus Sirach, As the Juge of the people is, so be his mynisters: And suche as be the gouernours of the citie, suche be the people. Which sentence is confyrmed by sondry hystories. For Nero, Caligula, Domitian, Lucius Commodus, Varius Heliogabalus, monstruous emperours, nourished about them, rybaudes and other voluptuous artificers.

¶ Maximianus, Diocletian, Maxencius, and other persecutours of Christen men lacked not inuentours of cruelle and terryble tourmentes.

¶ Contrarywyse, reygnynge the noble Augustus, Nerua, Traiane, Hadriane, the two Antonines, and the wonderful emperour Alexander for his grauitie called Severus, the imperiall palayce was alwaye replenysshed with eloquent oratours, delectable poetes, wyse philosophers, moste cunnyng and expert lawyers, prudent⁊ valyant capitayns. Wo lemblable examples shall hereof be folowden, by them which purposely do rede hystories, whom of all other I moste desyre to be ymets and gouernours.

¶ These articles well and substancially grauen in a noble mans memory, it shall also be necessary to cause them to be delectably writen and sette in a table within his bed chamber,

ber, addynge to, the verſis of Claudiane the noble poet, whiche he wzat to Honozius emperour of Rome, The verſis I haue trãſlated out of latine into engliſche not obſeruing the ozder as they ſtande, but the ſentence belongyng to my purpoſe.

¶ The table of gouernours to be hanged in theyz chambzes.

Claudian. Though thy powr ſtretchith both far and large.
Thzough Inde the ryche, ſet at the wozldes ende.
And Mede with Araby be bothe vnder thy charge.
And alſo Seres, that ſilke to vs dothe lende
If fere the trouble ſmal thinges the offende,
Coꝛrupt deſire thin hart hath ones imbzaced
Thou art in bõdage, thyn honour is defaced
Thou ſhalt be demed thã wozthy foꝛ to reign
whan of thy ſelfe thou wynneſt the maiſtry.
Euyll cuſtome bzingeth vertue in diſdaine.
Lycence ſuperfluous perſwadeth moch foly.
In to moche pleaſure ſette not felicitie,
If luſte oꝛ anger do thy mynde aſſayle
Subdue occaſion, & thou ſhalte lone pnayle.
What thou mayſt do, delite not foꝛ to know,
But rather what thyng wyl become the beſt.
Embzace thou vtu, & kepe thy courage low,
And thynke that alway meaſure is a feeſt.
Loue wel thy people, care alſo foꝛ the leeſt.
And whan thou ſtudieſt foꝛ thy commoditie

Make

Make them all parteners of thy felicitie.

Be not moch meued with synguler appetite
Excepte it profyte vnto thy subiectis all
At thyn example the people wyll delyte
Be it vyce or vertue with the they ryse or fal
No lawes auayle, men tourne as doth a bal
For where the ruler in lyuyng is not stable
Both law & coũsayle is tourned into a fable.

¶ These verses of Claudiane, full of excellent wysedomes, as I haue sayd, wold be in a table, in such a place as a gouernor ones in a daye may behold them, specially as they be expressed in latine by the sayde poete, vnto whose eloquence no translation in englysshe may be equiualent. But yet were it better to can them by harte, ye and yf they were made in the fourme of a ditie, to be songen to an instrument, O what a swete song wolde it be in the eares of wise men: For a meane musitian mought therof make a right pleasaunt harmonie, where almoste euery note shoulde expresse a counsayle vertuous or necessary.

¶ Ye haue nowe hard, what premeditatiõs be expediente before that a man take on hym the gouernaunce of a publyke weale. These notable premeditations and remembrances shuld be in his mynde, whiche is in auctoritie often tymes renewed. Than shall he procede further in furnishyng his person, with honourable maners and qualytyes, wherof very

very nobilitie is compacte, wherby all other shall be induced to honour, loue, and feare hym, whiche thynges chiefely do cause perfect obedience.

¶ Nowe of these maners wyll I wryte in order, as in my concepte they be (as it were) naturally disposed and sette in a noble man, and sooneste in hym noted or espied.

¶ The exposition of Maiesty. Cap. xi.

IN a gouernour or man, hauynge in the publyke weale some great authoritie, the fountayn of all excellent maners, is Maiesty, whyche is the holle proporcion and fygure of noble astate, and is properly a beautie or comelines in his countenance, langage and gesture, apte to his dignitie, and accommodate to tyme, place, and company, whiche lyke as the sonne dothe his beames, so dothe it cast on the beholders and herers a pleasant and terrible reuerence. In so moche as the wordes or countenances of a noble man, shulde be in the stede of a lyxme and stable lawe to his inferiours. Yet is nat maiestie alway in haute or fierce countenãce, nor in speche outragious or arrogant, but in honourable and sobre demeanure, deliberate and graue pronunciation, wordes cleane and facile, voide of rudenes and dishonesty, without vayne or inordinate langlyng, with such an excellent temperaunce, that he amonge an

unfynyte

infinite nombre of other persons, by his maiestie maye be espied for a gouernour.

¶ Whereof we haue a noble example in Homere of Ulisses, that whan his shyppe and men were perysshed in the sea, and he vneth escaped and was caste on lande vpon a cooste, where the inhabitauntes were called Pheacas, he beyng al naked, sauyng a mantel sent to hym by the kynges doughter, without other apparayle, or seruant, represented such a wonderful maiestie in his countenance and speche, that the kyng of the countrey, named Alcinous, in that extreme calamitie, wysshed, that Ulisses wolde take his doughter Nausicaa, to wyfe, with a great parte of his tresure. And declaryng the honour that he bare towarde hym, he made for his sake dyuers noble elbatementes and passetymes. The people also wondryng at his maiestie, honoured hym with londrye presentes. And at theyr propre charges and expensis, conuayed hym into his owne realme of Ithaca, in a shyp of wonderfull beautie, well ordynaunced and manned for his defence & saufe conducte. The wordes of Alcinous, wherby he declareth the maiestie, that he noted to be in Ulisses, I haue putte in englysshe, not so wel as I found them in greeke. Ulisses.

¶ Alcinous to Ulisses.

¶ Whan I the consyder Ulisses, I perceiue
Thou doest not dissemble to me in thy speech
As other haue done, whyche craftely can deceyue
Untruclye reportynge, where they lyste to preache
Of thynges neuer done, suche falshod they do teache.
But in thy wordes, there is a ryghte good grace
And that thy mind is good, it sheweth in thy face.

¶ The estimatyon of maiestie in countenaunce, shall be declared by two examples nowe ensuyng.

¶ To Scipio, beynge in his manour place, called Linternū, came dyuers great theues & pirates, only to the intent to se his person, of whose wonderfull prowesse and sondrye victories they hearde the renoume. But he not knowynge, but that they came to endomage hym, armed hym selfe and suche seruauntes as he than had with him, and dysposed theym about the imbatilmentes of his house, to make defence, whiche the capitaynes of their theues perceyuing, desyred the multitude from theym, & laying aparte theyr harneis and weapons, called to Scipio with a loude voyce, saying: that they came not as enemyes,

ennemyes, but wondrynge at his vertue and prowesse, desyred only to see hym, whyche yf he vouched sauf, they wolde account for an heauenly benefyte. That beynge shewed to Scipio by his seruauntes, he caused the gates to be sette wyde open, and the theues to be suffered to entre: who kyssyng the gaates and postes with moch reuerence, as they had bene of a temple or other place dedicate, hũbly approched to Scipio, whyche vysaged them in suche fourme, that they as subdued with a reuerent drede, in beholdyng his maiestie, at the laste ioyfully kyssyng his hande often tymes, whyche he benignely offred to them, made humble reuerence, and so departed, laying in the pryche semblable offringes, as they gaue to their goddes: And forthwith retourned to theyr owne habitations, reioysyng incredibly, that they had sene and touched a prince so noble and valyaunt.

¶ It is no lyttell thynge to meruayle at, the maiestie shewed in extreme fortune and mysery. The noble Romaine Marius, whã he had ben. vii. tymes Cõsul, beyng vainquished by Scilla, after that he hadde longe hyd hym selfe in marises and deserte places, was fynally constrayned by famine to repayre to a towne called Minturne, where he trusted to haue ben succoured. But the inhabitantes, dredyng the cruelte of Scilla, toke Marius and put hym into a dongeon, And after sent to slee him theyr commune hangeman which

was borne in Cimbria, a countrey somtyme distroyed by Marius. The hangman, beholdyng the honourable wyte and maiestie, that remained in Marius, notwithstanding that he was out of honorable apparaile, and was in garmentes torne & fylthy, he thought that in his vysage appered the terrible battayle, wherin Marius vanquyshed his countraymenne: he therfore al trembiyng, as constrained by feare, dydde lette fall out of his hand the swerde, wherwith he should haue slayne Marius, & leuyng him vntoucheh, fled oute of the place. The cause of his feare reported to the people, they meued with reuerence, afterward studied & deuised how they mought delyuer Marius from the malyce of Scilla.

¶ In Augustus, emperour of Rome, was a native maiestie. For as Suetonius writeth, frome his eyen proceded rayes or beames, whiche perced the eien of the beholders. The same emperour spake seldom openly, but out of a comentarie, that is to say, that he hadde before prouyded and wryten, to the entente that he wolde speke no more ne lasse than he hadde purposed.

¶ Moreouer, toward the acquiryng of maiestie, thre thynges be required in the oration of a man hauing autorite, that it be compendious, sententious, & delectable hauyng also respecte to the tyme whan, the place where, and the persones to whom it is spoken. For the wordes perchance apte for a banket or

tyme

tyme of solace, be not commendable in tyme of consultation or seruice of god. That language that in the chambre is tollerable, in place of iugemente or greate assembly is nothynge commendable.

¶ Of apparayle be longynge to a noble man beyng a gouernour or great counsaylour. Cap.iii.

APparayle may be wel a part of maiestie. For as there hathe ben euer a discrepance of vesture of youthe and age, menne and womenne, and our lorde god ordeyned the apparayle of prestes distincte frome seculars, as it appereth in holye scripture: also the gentyles hadde of auncyente tyme sondry apparayle to sondry astates, as to the senate, and dignities called magistrates. And what enormitie shoulde hit nowe be thought a thynge to laughe at, to se a iuge or sergeant at the lawe in a shorte coote gardedand pounced after the galyarde facion, or an apprientyse of the lawe or pleder, come to the barre with a millayne or frenche bonette on his head, set full of aglettes: So is there apparayle comely to euery astate and degree, and that whiche excedeth or lacketh, procureth reproche, in a noble man specially. For apparayle symple or scant reproueth hym of auarice. If it be alway exceding precious and often tymes changed, as well into charge as

straunge and new factions, it caused hym to be noted dyssolute of maners.

¶ The mooste noble emperours of Rome, Augustus, Traiane, Hadriane, Antonine, Seuerus, and Alexander, whyche were of al other incomparable in honorable liuing, vsed a discrete moderation in theyr apparayle, all though they were great emperours and gentyles. Howe moche more ought than chriſten men, whose denomination is founded on humilitie, and they that be not of the estate of princis, to shew a moderation and constaūce in vesture, that they diminyshe noo parte of theyr maiestie, either with newe fangilenesse, or with ouer sumptuous expences, and yet maye this laste be suffered, where there is a greate assemble of straungers: for than some tyme it is expedient, that a noble man, in his apparayle, do aduaunce hym selfe to be both ryche and honourable. But in this as wel as in other partes of maiesty, time is to be highly consydered.

Hangynges and plate mete for a noble mā.

¶ Semblable deckyng oughte to be in the house of a noble man, or manne of honoure. I meane concernyng ornamentes of hal and chambres, in Arise, paynted tables, and images conteyning histories, wherin is represented some monumente of vertue, mooste cunnyngely wrought, with the circumstaunce of the matter briefly declared, wherby other menne in beholdyng, may be instructed, or at the least wayes to vertue perswaded. In like

wyse

wyfe his plate and vessayle wolde be ingraued with hystoryes, fables, or quycke & wyfe sentences, comprehendyng good doctrine or counsayles, wherby one of these commodyties may happen, eyther that they whiche do eate or drynke, hauynge those wysedomes euer in syghte, shall happen with the meate to receyue some of theym, or by purposynge them at the table, may suscitate some disputation or reasonyng, wherby somme parte of tyme shall be saued, whyche elles by superfluouse eatyng and drinkyng, wold be vtterly consumed.

¶ What very nobilitie is, and wherof it toke fyrste that denomination. Capitulo. 4.

NOwe it is to be feared, that where maiestie approcheth to excesse, and the mynd is obsessed with inordinat glorie, lest pryde, of al vices most horrible, shuld sodeynlye entre and take prysoner the harte of a gentylman called to auctoritie. Wherfore in as moch as that pestilence corrupteth all sences, and maketh theym incurable by any persuation or doctrine, therfore suche persons, from theyr adolescency ought to be perswaded and taught the true knowlege of very nobilytie, in fourme folowyng or lyke.

Adolescency, is the age next to the state of man.

¶ Fyrst that in the beginnyng, whan priuat possessions & dignities were gyuen by the con-

Nobilitie begunne

sente of the people, whe than had all thynge in commune, and equalitie in degree and condition, Undoubtedly they gaue the one and the other to hym, at whose vertue they merueyled, and by whose labour and industrie they receyued a commune benefyte, as of a commune father, that with equall affection loued theym, And that promptitude or redyneisse in employing that benefyte was than named in englysche gentylneisse, as it was in latine BENIGNITAS, and in other tonges after a semblable signification: and the persons were called gentyll menne, more for the remembrance of theyr vertue and benefyte, than for discrepaunce of astates.

¶ Also it fortuned by the prouidēce of god, that of those good menne were ingendred good chyldren, who beynge broughte vp in vertue, and perceyuyng the cause of the aduauncement of theyr progenitour, endeuoured them selfes by imitation of vertue, to be equall to theym in honour and auctoryte: by good emulation they reteined styl the fauour and reuerence of people. And for the goodnes that proceded of suche generation, the astate of them was called in greke SVGENIA, whiche signifyeth good kynde or lynage: but in a more brefe maner, it was after called nobilitie, and the persones noble, whiche signifieth excellent, and in the analogie or signification it is more ample than gentil, for it cōteyneth as well all that, whyche is in gentil-

neisse

nesse, as also the honour or dignitie therfore receyued, whiche be so annexed the one to the other, that they can not be seperate.

It wolde be more ouer declared, that where vertue ioyned with greate possessions or dygnytie, hath longe continued in the blode or house of a gentyll man, as it were an inheritaunce, there nobilitie is mooste shewed, and these noble menne ar mooste to be honored: for as moche as continuaunce in all thynge that is good, hath euer preeminence in praise and comparison. But yet shall it be necessary, to aduertise those personnes, that doo thynke, that nobilitie maye in no wyse be but onely where menne can aduaunt them of auncient lignage, an ancient rote, or great possessions, at this daye very noble menne do suppose to be moche errour and foly. Wherof there is a familiar example, which we beare euer with vs: for the bloode in our bodyes beynge in youthe warme, pure, and lustye, is the occasion of beautie, whiche is euery where commended and loued, but in age beyng putrisfied, it leseth his prayse. And the goutes, carbuncles, kankers, leprys, & other lyke sores and sycknesses, whiche doo procede of blode corrupted, be to all men detestable. And this persuasion to any gentilmã, in whom is apt dyspositiõ to very nobilitie, wyll be sufficient, to withdrawe hym frome suche vice, whereby he maye empayre his owne estimation, & the good renoume of his auncetours.

Nobilitie auncient.

Auncient robes.

¶ If he haue an auncient robe, lefte by his auncetour, let hym conſyder, that yf the fyrſt owner were of more vertue than he is, that ſuccedeth, the robe beyng worne, mynyſheth his prayſe, to theym whiche knowe or haue heard of the vertue of hym that fyrſt owed it. If he that weareth it be vicioule, it more detecteth how moch he is vnworthy to weare it, the remembraunce of his noble auncetour makyng men to abhorre the reproche gyuen by an vnell ſucceſſour.

¶ If the fyrſt owner were not vertuouſe, it condemneth him that weareth it of moch folyſheneſſe, to glorie in a thing of ſo baſe eſtimatiõ, which lacking beautie or gloſſe, can be none ornament to him that wereth it, nor honorable remẽbrance to him that firſt owed it

Nobilitie wherin it is.

¶ But nowe to confyrme by true hiſtoryes, that accordynge as I late affyrmed, nobilitie is not onely in dignitie, auncient lignage, nor greate reuenues landes or poſſeſſions, let yonge gentylmen haue often tymes tolde to them, and (as it is vulgarely ſpoken) layde in theyr lappes, howe Numa Pompilius was taken from huſbandry, whiche he exercyſed, and was made kyng of Romains by election of the people. What cauſed it ſuppoſe you, but his wiſedome and vertue, whiche in him was very nobilitie: that nobilitie brought hym to dignitie? And yf that were not nobilitie, the Romaines were meruaylouſly abuſed, that after the deathe of Romulus theyr kynge,

Numa kyng of Romais

kynge, haupnge amonge them a hundzed ſe-
natours, whome Romulus dyd ſet in auctо-
ritie, and alſo the blod royal, and olde gentyl
menne of the Sabynes, who by the procure-
ment of the wyues of the Romayns, beynge
their doughters, inhabited the citie of Rome
they wolde not of ſomme of theym electe a
kynge, rather than aduaunce a ploughman
and ſtraunger to that auctozytie.

¶ Quintius, hauing but .xxx. acres of land, Quintius
and beynge ploughman therof, the Senate Dictatoz.
and people of Rome ſent a meſſager to ſhew
hym that they hadde choſen hym to be DI-
CTATOR, whiche was at that time the
hyghest dignitie among the Romayns, & foz
thre moneches had auctozitie royal, Quintꝰ
hearyng the meſſage, let his plough ſtande, &
went into the citie, & prepared his hoſt, agein
the Samnites, & vainquiſhed them valiantly
And that done, he ſurrendzed his office, and
beyng diſcharged of the dignitie, repayzed a-
gayne to his ploughe, & applied it diligently.

¶ I wold demaund nowe, if nobilitie were
onely in the dignitie, oz in his pzoweſſe, whi-
che he ſhewed agaynſte his ennemyes. If it
were onely in his dignitie, it therwith ceaſ-
ſed, and he was (as I mought ſay) eftſones
vnnoble, and than was his pzoweſſe vnre-
warded, whiche was the chiefe and originall
cauſe of that dignite: which were incõgruent
& without reaſon. If it were in his pzoweſſe,
pzoweſſe conſyſtynge of valiaunte courage

and

and martiall polycie, yf they ſtyll remayne in the perſonne, he maye neuer be with out nobilitie, whiche is the commendation, and as it were the ſurname of vertue.

Decii and theyr avowes.

¶ The two Romaynes, called both Decii, were of the baſe eſtate of the people, and not of the greate blode of the Romaynes, yet for the preſeruation of theyr countrey, they avowed to dye, as it were in a ſatisfaction for all theyr countrey: and ſo with valiaunt hartes they perced the hooſte of theyr ennemies, and valiauntly fyghtyng dyed there honourably, and by theyr example gaue ſuche audacitie and courage to the reſidue of the Romaines, that they employed ſo their ſtrength againſt theyr ennemies, that with littel more loſſe, they opteyned victorye.

¶ Ought not theſe two Romaynes, which by theyr death gaue occaſyon of victorye, be called noble? I ſuppoſe no mā that knoweth what reaſon is, wyll denie it

¶ Moreouer, we haue in this realme coynes, whiche be called nobles, as long as they be ſene to be golde, they be ſoo called: but yf they be counterfayted, and made in braſſe, coper, or other vile metall, who for the print onely, calleth theym nobles? wherby it appereth that the eſtimation is in the metall, and not in the prynte or fygure.

¶ And in a horſe or good greyhounde, we prayſe that we ſe in them, and not the beautie or goodnes of their progenie. Which pro-

ueth,

ueth, that in eſtemyng of money and catell, we be led by wyſedome, and in appꝛouyng of man, to whom weaſtes and money to ſerue we be onely induced by cuſtome.

¶ Thus I conclude, that nobylitie is not after the vulgare oppynion of menne, but is oneiye the pꝛayſe and ſurname of vertue. Whiche the lenger it cõtinueth in a name oꝛ linage, the moꝛe is nobilitie extolled and meruayled at.

Of affabilitie, and the vtilitie therof in euery eſtate. Cap. v.

TO that, whiche I beſoꝛe named gentylneſſe, be incident thꝛe ſpeciall qualities, Affabilitie, Placabilitie, & Mercy, of whom I wyll nowe ſeperately declare the pꝛopꝛe ſignifications.

¶ Affabilitie is of wonderfull efficacie oꝛ powꝛer in pꝛocuryng loue. And it is in ſondꝛy wiſe, but moſt pꝛopꝛely, where a mã is facile oꝛ eaſy to ben ſpoke vnto. It is alſo where a man ſpeketh courteyſely with a ſwet ſpeche oꝛ countenaunce, wherwith the herers (as it were with a delicate odour) be refreſhed, and alured to lone hym, in whom is this mooſte delectable qualitie. Is contrarywyſe, menne vehemenſely hate theym, that haue a pꝛoude and haulte countenaunce, be they neuer ſoo hyghe in eſtate oꝛ degree. How often haue I heard people ſaye, whan men in great auctoritie

Hault countenance.

ritie haue passed by, without makyng gen-
tyll countenaunce, to those whiche haue done
to them reuerence, This man weeneth with
a loke, to subdue all the worlde: Nay naye,
mens hartes be free, and wylle loue whome
they lyst. And therto all the other do consente
in a murmure, as it were bees. Loorde god
how they be sooze blynded, whiche do wene,
that hault countenance is comelynesse of no-
bilitie, where vndoubtedly nothyng is ther-
to, a mooze greatter blemysshe: As they haue
well proued, whiche by foztunes mutabilitie
haue changed theyz astate, whā they perceiue
that the remembzaunce of theyz pzide, with-
dzaweth all pytie, all men reioycynge at the
chaunge of theyz foztune.

¶ Dionise, the pzoude kyng of Sicile, after
that foz his intollerable pzyde, was dzyuen
by his people out of his realme, the remem-
bzance of his haulte and stately countenance,
was to all men so odioule, that he coulde be
in no countrey wel enterteyned. In so moche
as yf he hadde not be relieued by lerning, tea-
chyng a grāmer schole in Italy, he foz lacke
of frendes had ben constrayned to begge foz
his lyuyng.

¶ Semblably Perses king of Macedonia,
and one of the rychest kynges that euer was
in Greece, Foz his execrable pzyde, was at the
last abandoned of all his alyes and confede-
rates, by reasō wherof, he was vainquished,
and taken pzisoner by Paulus Emilius, one
of

of the consules of Rome: & not onely he hym selfe bounden, and ledde as a captiue, in the triumphe of the sayde Paulus, but also the remembrance of his pryde was so odioule to people, that his owne sonne destitut of frendes, was by nede constrayned to worke in a smythes forge, not fyndyng any man that of his harde fortune hadde any compassion.

¶ The pryde of Tarquine, the laste kyng of Romaynes, was more occasion of his exile: than the rauisshing of Lucrecia, by his sonne Iruncius, for the malyce that the people by his pryde had long gathered, fyndyng valiaut capitaines, Brutus, Colatinus, Lucrecius, and other nobles of the cytie, at the last brast out, and takyng occasion of the rauishement all thoughe the kyng were therto no partie, they vtterly expulsed him for euer out of the cytie. These be the fruites of pryde, and that menne do call stately countenaunce.

Gentil cos tenance.

¶ When a noble man passeth by, shewyng to men a gentyll and familiare visage, it is a worlde to beholde, how people taketh cõfort, how the bloude in theyr visage quyckeneth, howe theyr flesche fyzreth and hartes leape for gladnes: Than they all speke, as it were in an harmonye, the one sayth, who beholdyng this mannes most gentyl countenance, wyl not with al his hart loue him? A nother sayth, he is no man but an angel, se how he reioyseth all men that beholde him. Finally, al do graunt, that he is worthy al honor that

maye

maye be gyuen or wyſched hym.

¶ But nowe to reſorte to that, whiche moſt properly (as I haue ſayd) is affabilitie, whiche is facile or eaſy to be ſpoken vnto.

¶ Marcus Antoninus, emperour of Rome (as Lampridius wryteth) inſerched, who were mooſte homely and playne men within the ryte, and ſecretely ſent for theym into his chambre, where he diligentely enquered of theym, what the people conjected of his liuynge, commaundyng theym vpon peyne of his hyghe indignation, to tell hym trouthe, and hyde nothynge frome hym. And vpon theyr reporte, yf he heard any thyng worthy neuer ſo lyttel diſpreyſe, he forthwith amended it. And alſo by ſuche meanes, he corrected theym that were aboute his perſon, fyndyng them negligent, dyſſemblars, and flatterers.

¶ The noble Traiane, whā his nobles and counſaillours noted him to familiar and curtaiſe, and therfore dyd blame hym, He anſwered, that he wolde be a lyke emperour to other men, as yf he were a ſubiecte, he wolde wyſhe to haue ouer hym ſelfe.

Libertie in ſpeakyng.

¶ O what damage hath enſued to pryncis and theyr realmes, where lybertie of ſpeche hath ben reſtrayned?

Alexāders cruentie in ſleing his frendes.

¶ What auayled fortune incomparable to the greate kynge Alexander, his wonderfull puyſſaunce and hardines, or his ſynguler doctrine in philoſophye, taughte hym by Ariſtotle, in delyueryng hym from the deathe in his

his yonge and flourysshyng age: where yt he had reteyned the same affabilitie, that was in him in the begynnyng of his conquest, and hadde not put to sylence his counsaylours, whiche before vsed to speke to him frankly, he mought haue escaped all violente deathe: and by similitude haue enioyed the hole monarchie of all the worlde. For after that he waxed to be terryble in maners, and prohibited his frendes, and discrete seruauntes, to vse theyr accustomed libertie in speche, he fel into the hateful grudge among his owne people.

¶ But I had almoste forgoten Julius Cesar, who beyng not able to susteyne the burden of fortune, and enuienge his owne felycitie, abandoned his natural disposition, and as it were beynge dronke with ouer moche welthe, sought newe wayes, howe to be aduaunced aboue the astate of mortall princes: wherfore lytel and lytell he withdrewe from menne his accustomed gentylnesse, becomming more sturdy in langage, and strange in countenaunce, than euer before hadde bene his vsage. And to declare more playnely his intente, he made an edicte or decree, that noo man shoulde preasse to come to him vncalled, and that they shulde haue good awaite, that they spake not in such familiar facto to him, as they before hadde ben accustomed: wherby he soo dyd alienate frome hym the hartes of his moost wyse and assured adherentys,

Julius Cesar exãple of tyranny

that from that tyme forwarde, his lyfe was to theym tedious: and abhorryng hym as a monstre or commune enemye, beyng knytte in a confederacye, slewe hym syttyng in the Senate, of whyche conspiracye was chyefe capitayne Marcus Brutus, whome of all other he beste loued, for his greate wysedome and prowesse. And it is of some wryters suspected, that he was begoten of Cesar, for as moche as Cesar in his youthe loued Sernilia, the mother of Brutus, and as men supposed, vsed her more familiarly than honestie required. Thus Cesar by omittyng his olde affabilitie, dyd incense his nexte frendes and companyons sle a hym.

Dammage ensuyng by lacke of lyberte of speche.

¶ But nowe take hede what domage ensued to hym by his decre, wherin he commanded, that no man shoulde be soo hardy to approche or speake to him: One whiche knewe of the conspiracye agaynste hym, and by all lykelihode did participate therin, beyng meued either with loue or pitie, or otherwise his conscience remordyng againste the destruction of so noble a prince, considering that by Cesars decree he was prohybyted to haue to him any familiar accesse, soo that he myghte not playnely detect the conspiracye, he therto vehemently meued, wrote in a byll all the fourme therof, with the meanes howe it myghte be espied, and sens he mought fynde none other opportunitie, he delyuered the byll to Cesar the same daye that his deathe was

pro-

prepared, as he wente towarde the place, where the Senat was holden But he being radicate in pryde and neglectyng to looke on that byll, not estemyng the person that delyuered it, which perchāce was but of a meane hauiour, continued his waye to the Senate, where he incontinent was slayne by the said Brutus and many mo of the Senat for that purpose appoynted.

¶ Who beholdyng the cause of the death of this most noble Cesar vnto whō in eloquēce, doctrine, martiall prowesse, & gentylnesse, no prince may be compared & the acceleration or haste to his cōfusion, caused by his own edict or decre, wil not cōmende affabilitie, & extolle liberalite of speche & wherby onely loue is in the hartes of people perfectely kendled, all feare excluded, & consequentely realmes, dominions, and all other auctorities consolidat and perpetually stablyshed. The sufferance of noble men to be spokē vnto, is not only to them an incōparable suretie, but also a confounder of repentaunce, enemy to prudence, wherof is ingendred this word, Had I wist which hath ben euer of al wise men reproued

¶ On a tyme kynge Philippe, father to the great Alexāder, sytyng in iugement, and hauyng before him a matter agaynst ons of his souldiours, beyng ouercommen with watche fel on a slombre, and sodeynly beynge awaked, immediatly wolde haue gyuē a sentence agaynste the pooze souldiour. But he with a

Iugement suspended through liberte of speche. Plutarch.

great voyce and outerie saide kyng Philip, I appele. To whom wylt thou appele sayde the kynge? To the (sayd the souldiour) whan thou arte throughly awaked. With whyche answere the kynge suspended his sentence, and moze diligently examynyng the matter, found, the souldiour hadde wzonge: whiche beynge sufficientely discussed, he gaue iugement foz hym, whome befoze he wolde haue condemned.

¶ Semblably hapned by a poze woman, agaynste whom the same kynge hadde gyuen iugement, but she as desperate, with a loude voyce, cried: I appele, I appele. To whom appelest thou sayde the kynge? I appeale, sayde she, frome the, nowe beyng dzonke, to kynge Philyp the sobze. At whiche wozdes, thoughe they were vndiscrete and foolyshe, yet he not beynge moued to displeasure, but gatheryng to hym his wittes, examyned the matter moze seriously: wherby he fyndyng the pooze womanne to susteyne wzonges, reuersed his iugement, and accozdyng to truth and iustice, gaue to her that she demaunded. Wherin he is of noble autours cõmended, & put foz an honozable example of affabilitie.

Antonius philosophus Herodian⁹

¶ The noble emperour Antonine, called the philosopher, was of suche affabilitie, as Herodiane wzyteth, that to euerye manne that came to hym, he gentilly delyuered his hand. And wold not permitte, that his garde shuld pzohibyte any man to appzoche hym.

The

¶ The excellent emperour Augustus on a eyme, in the presence of many menne, played on cimballes, or an other lyke instrumente. A poore manne standing with other, and beholdynge the emperour, sayde with a loude voyce to his felowe, Seest thou not, howe this voluptuous lechour tempereth all the worlde with his fynger? Whyche wordes the emperoure soo wysely noted, without wrath or displeasure, that euer after, duryng his lyfe, he refrayned his handes from semblable lyghtnesse. Augustus. Suetoni⁹.

¶ The good Antonine, emperour of Rome commyng to supper to a meane gentyman, beheldе in the house certayne pyllers of a delicate stoone, called porpheri, asked of the good man, where he hadde bought those pillers. Who made to the emperoure this answere: Syr, whan ye come into any other mans howse, than your owne, euer be you both dome and deffe, Whiche liberall taunte that moost gentyll emperour toke in so good part, that he often tymes rehersed that sentence to other, for a wyse & discrete cōsaile. Antonin⁹ Pius. Lāpprid⁹.

¶ By these examples apperith nowe euidentely what good cometh of affabylitie or sufferance of speche, what moost pernicious daunger alway enlueth to them, that eyther do refuse counsayle, or prohibite lybertie of speche, sens that in lybertie (as it hathe ben proued) is moost perfect suertie, accordyng as it is remembred by Plutarche, of Theo-

Pompus, kynge of Lacedemone, who beyng demaunded, howe a realme mought be beste and most surely kept: It (sayd he) the prynce gyue to his frendes libertie, to speake to hym thynges that be iuste, and neglecteth not the wronges, that his subiectes susteyneth.

Howe noble a vertue placabilitie is. Cap. vi.

Placabilitie is no lyttell parte of Benignitie, and is proprely where a man is by any occasion meued to be angry, and notwithstandynge eyther by his owne reason ingenerate or by counsaylle perswaded, omytteth to be reuenged, and often tymes receyuethe the transgressour ones reconcyled, into more fauoure: whyche vndoubtedlye is a vertue wonderfulle excellente For as Tulli sayethe: Noo thynge is more to be meruayled at, or that more becometh a man noble and honorable, thanne mercye and placabilitie. The valewe therof is beste knowen by the contrarye, whyche is yre, called vulgarelye wrathe, a vyce mooste vgly, and farreste from humanitie. For who beholdyng a manne in estimation of nobylytie and wysedome, by furye changed into an horrible fygure, his face intarced with rancour, his mouthe foule and enbolced, his eyen wyde staring, and sparke-

Cic. off. i.

Ire or wrathe:

lynge

tyng lyke a fyre, nat spekyng, but as a wild bulle, rozyng & brayng out wozdes despitefull and venemous, forgettyng his astate oz condition, forgettyng learnynge, ye forgetyng all reason, wyll not haue suche a passion in extreme detestation? Shal he nat wisshe to be in suche a man placabilitie? wherby only he shuld be eftsones restozed to the fourme of a man, wherof he is by wzath despoyled, as it is wonderfly wel described by Ouide in his crafte of loue.

Ouidius de arte amandi.

¶ Man to thy vysage it is conuenyent,
Beastly fury shortely to asswage,
For peace is beautyfull to man onely lent,
wzathe to the beastis cruell and sauage,
For in man the face swelleth, whan wzathe is in rage.
The blonde becommeth wanne, the eyen fyry bryght,
Lyke Gozgon the monster, appeeryng in the nyght.

wzathe.

¶ This Gozgon that Ouyde speaketh of, is supposed of poetes to be a fury, oz infernall monster, whose heares were all in the fygure of adders, signyfieng the abundance of mischiefe, that is conteyned in wzathe. Wherwith the great kyng Alexander being (as I mought say) obsessed, dyd put to vengeable death his derc frend Clitus, his most pzudent counsaylour Calisthenes, his moste

Alexander in fury.

valiant capitaine Philotas, with his father Parmenio, and dyuers other. Wherof he so soze after repented, that oppressed with heuines, hadde slayne hym selfe, hadde he not ben lette by his seruauntes. Wherfoze his furye and in an inozdinate wzathe, is a fowle and greuous blemische to his glozye, which without that vice, had incomparably excelled all other pzinces.

The horrible crueltie of Sylla & Marius.

¶ Who abhozreth oz hateth not the violẽce oz rage that was in Scylla and Marius: noble Romains, and in theyz time in hyghest authozytie within the cytie, hauynge the gouernaunce of the moze parte of the wozlde. Scilla, foz the malignitie that he hadde toward Marius, caused the heades of a thousande and seuen hundzed of the chiefe cytizens of Rome to be striken of, and bzoughte to hym freshe bledynge and quycke, and ther on fedde his mooste cruell eyen, whyche to eate his mouthe naturally abhozred. Marius with no lesse rancour inflamed, belyde a terrible slaughter, that he made of noble menne, leanyng to Scilla, also caused Caius Cesar (who had ben both Consull and Censoz, two of the mooste honozable dignities in the cytie of Rome) to be violently dzawen to the sepulture of one Marius, a simple and seditious persone, and there to be dishonestly slayne. With lyke bestial fury, he caused the head of Marcus Antoninus, one of the most eloquente ozatours of all the Romaynes, to

be

he broughte vnto hym, as he sate at dyner, & there toke the heade all bloody betwene his handes, and with a malycious countenaunce reproched hym of his eloquence, wherwith he hadde not onely defended many an innocent, but also the hole publyke weale by his wyse consultations singularly profyted.

¶ O what calamitie hapned to that mooste noble cytie of Rome, by the implacabilitie or wrathe insaciable, of these two capitaynes, or (as I mought rather say) deuylles: the nobles betwene theym exhauste, the chyualrye almoste consumed, the lawes oppressed, and lackynge but lyttell, that the publyke weale had not ben extinct, & the cytie vtterly desolat.

¶ The vndiscrete hastynesse of themperour Claudius, caused hym to be noted for foolysshe. For he moued with wrath, caused dyuers to be slayne, for whom after he demanded, and wold sende for to souper. Notwithstandyng that he was right well lerned, and in dyuers greatte affayres appeared to be wyse. These discommodities doo happen by implacable wrath, wherof there be examples innumerable.

¶ Contrariwise, the valiant king Pirrhus hearyng that two menne at a feast, and in a greate assembly and audience, hadde openly spoken wordes, to his reproche, moued with displeasure, sent for the persones: and whan they were come, he demaunded where they spake of hym anye suche wordes: wherunto Pyrrhus.

one of them answered, If (sayde he) the wyne had nat the sooner sayled vs, all that whiche was tolde to your hyghnes, in comparyson of that whiche shuld haue ben spoken, had bene but trifles. The wyse prynce with that playne confession was mutygate, and his wrathe conuerted to laughyng.

Placabilitas.

¶ Julius Cesar, after his victorye ageinste the great Pōpei, who had maried his daughter, syttyng in open iugement, one Sergius Galba, one of the nobles of Rome, a frend vnto Pompei, sayd vnto hym: I was bounden for thy sonne in law Pompei in a great summe, whan he was consul the thyrd time, wherfore I am nowe sewed. What shall I do? Shall I my selfe pay it? by which wordes he mought seeme to reproche Cesar of the sellyng of Pompeys goodes, in defraudyng his creditors. But Cesar than hauing a gentyl harte and a pacient was nat meued with any displeasure towarde Galba: but cauled Pompeys dettes to be discharged.

¶ We lacke nat of this vertue domesticall examples, I meane of our owne kynges of Englande. but moste specially one, whyche in myne opynyon, is to be compared with any, that euer was wrytten of in any regyon or countrey.

A good Iudge, a good price, a good kig

¶ The moste renomed prynce kynge Henry the fyfte, late kynge of Englande, durynge the lyfe of his father, was noted to be fierce and of wanton courage: it happed that one

of

of his seruantes, whome he well fauoured, was for felony by hym committed, arrayned at the kynges benche: wherof the prynce beinge aduertysed, and incensed by lyght persones aboute hym, in furyous rage came hastyly to the barre, where his seruant stode as a prysoner, and commaunded hym to be vnpyned and set at lybertie. Wherat al men were abalshed, reserued the chiefe Justyce, who humbly exhorted the prince to be contented, that his seruant mought be ordered accordyng to the auncient lawes of this realme: or yf he wolde haue hym saued from the rygour of the lawes, that he shulde opteyne, yf he mought, of the kyng his father his gracious pardon, wherby no lawe or iustyce shulde be derogate. With whyche answere the prince nothynge appeased, but rather more inflamed, endeuoured hym selfe to take away his seruant. The iudge considerynge the perylous example, and inconuenience that mought therby insue, with a valiant spirite and courage, commaunded the prince vpon his alegeance, to leaue the prisoner, and depart his way. with which cōmandement the prince being set all in a fury, all chafed and in a terrible maner, cam vp to the place of iugement, mē thinking that he wold haue slayne the iudge, or haue done to hym some damage: but the iuge sitting styl without mouing, declaring the maiesty of the kinges place of iugemēt, & with an assured & bold coun-

countenance, had to the prince, these wordes folowyng.

¶ Syr remembre your self, I kepe here the place of the kyng your soueraine lorde and father, to whome ye owe double obedience, wherefore effsoones in his name, I charge you deffyle of your wylfulnesse and vnlaufull enterprise, and frome hensforthe gyue good exaumple to those, whyche hereafter shall be your proper subiectes. And now, for your contempte and disobedience, go you to the prison of the kynges benche, whervnto I commytte you, and remayne ye there prysoner vntyll the pleasure of the kynge your father be further knowen. With whyche wordes being abashed, and also wondrynge at the meruaylous grauitie of that worshipfull iustyce, the noble prince laying his weapon apart, doinge reuerence, departed, and went to the kynges benche, as he was commanded. Wherat his seruantes disdayning came and shewed to the kyng all the holle affayre. Wherat he awhyles studyenge, after as a man all rauysshed with gladnes, holding his eies and handes vp towarde heauen, abrayded with a lowde voyce: O mercyfull god, howe moche am I bounde to your infynite goodnesse, specially for that ye haue gyuen me a iudge, who feareth not to mynister iustyce, and also a sonne, who can suffre semblably, and obeye iustyce?

¶ Nowe here a man may beholde thre per-

sones

sones, worthy excellent memorye, Fyrste a iudge, who beinge a subiecte, feared nat to execute iustyce on the eldest sonne of his soueraygne lorde, and by the order of nature his successour. Also a prince, and sonne and heyre of the kyng, in the myddes of his furye, more consydered his cupill example, and the iudges constance in iustice, than his own astate or wylfull appetite. Thirdly, a noble kyng and wyse father, who contrary to the custome of parentes, reioyced to se his sonne and the heyre of his crowne, to be for his disobedyence, by his subiect corrected. Wherfore I conclude, that nothyng is more honorable, or to be desyred in a prince or noble mā than placabilitie. As contrarywyse, nothing is so detestable or to be feared in suche one, as wrathe and cruell malignitie.

¶ That a gouernour ought to be mercyfull, and the diuersitie of mercy and vayne pitie. Cap. vii.

MErcy is and hath bene euer of suche estymatiō with mankynde, that not onelye reason perswadeth, but also experience proueth, that in whome mercye lacketh, and is nat founden, in hym al other vertues be drowned, and loose theyr iuste commendation.

¶ The vice called crueltie, whyche is contray to mercy, is by good reason moste odi- Crueltie.

ous

ous of all other vyces, in as moche as lyke a poyson or contynuall pestilence, it distroyeth the generation of man. Also lykewise as norysshyng meates and drynkes in a syche body, do lose theyr bountie and augment: the malady, semblably dyuers vertues in a person cruell and malicious, be not onely obfuscate or hyd, but do mynyster occasyon and assystence to cruelte.

¶ But nowe to speake of the inestymable price and value of mercy, Lette gouernours whiche knowe, that they haue receiued their power from aboue, reuolue in theyr myndes in what perylle they theym selfe be in dayly, yf in god were not abundance of mercy, but that as soone as they offende hym greuously, he shuld immediatly stryke hym with his moste terrible darte of vengeance: All be it vnneth any houre passeth, that men deserue not some punyshement.

¶ The moste noble emperours, whiche for theyr merites receyued of the gentyls diuine honours, vanquysshed the greate hartes of theyr mortall ennemies, in shewyng mercy aboue mens expectation.

¶ Julius Cesar, which in policy, eloquẽce, celerytie and prowesse, excelled all other capitaynes, in mercy onely, surmounted hym selfe, that is to say, contrary to his owne affectes and determinate purposes, he nat only spared, but also receyued into tender familiaritie his swoyne ennemies. Wherfore

yf the

yf the disdayne of his owne bloudde and aliyance had not trayterously slayne hym, he had reigned longe and prosperously.

¶ What amonge many other exaumples of mercy, wherof the hystories of Rome do abounde, there is one remembred by Senera, which may be in the stede of a great numbre. Seneca de clementia.

¶ It was reported to the noble emperour Octauius Augustus, that Lucius Cinna, whiche was Iulius sonne to the great Pompei had imagined his death: Also that Cinna was appoynted to execute his feate, whiles the emperour was doinge his sacrifyce: This report was made by one of the conspiratours, and therewith dyuers other thynges agreed: the olde hostilitie betweene the houses of Pompei and Cesar, the wyld & seditious witte of Cinna, with the place and tyme, where and whan the emperour shuld be disfurnysshed of seruauntes. Noo wonder though the emperours mynde were inquiet, being in so perillous conflyct, consyderyng on the one parte, that if he shuld put to deth Cinna, whiche came of one of the most noble and auncient houses of Rome, he shulde euer lyue in daunger, oneles he shuld destroy all that noble famyly, and cause the memory of theym to be vtterly exterminate: whyche mought not be brought to passe, without effusyon of the bloude of persones innumerable, and also perylle of the subuersyon of the empire, late pacified. On thother part, he Mercy shewed by Augustus vntyll his enmye.

con-

conſydered the imminente daunger, that his perſonne was in, wherfore nature ſtered him to prouide for his ſuretie: wherto he thought than to be none other remedy, but the deathe of his aduerſary. To hym beynge thus perplered, cam his wyf Liuia, the empreſſe, who ſayd vnto hym: Pleaſeth it you ſir to here a womans aduiſe. Doo you as phiſitions be wont to doo, where theyr accuſtomed remedyes preue not, they aſſaye the contrary. By ſeuerite ye haue hytherto nothyng profited: proue therfore nowe, what mercy maye aduaile you. Forgyue Cinna, he is taken with the maynure, and maye not nowe indomage you, profyte he maye moche to the increaſe of your renoume and perpetuall glorye. The emperour reioyſed to hym ſelfe that Cinna had found ſuche an aduocatrice, and gyuing her thankes, cauſed his counſaylours, whyche he hadde ſent for, to be countermanded, and callyng to hym Cinna only, commanded the chaumbre to be auoyded, and an other chayre to be ſet for Cinna, and that done, he ſayde in this maner to hym: I deſyre of the this one thynge, that whyles I ſpeake, thou wylt not let or diſturbe me: or in the middes of my wordes make any exclamation.

¶ What tyme Cinna, I founde the in the hooſte of myne ennemyes, all thoughe thou were not by anye occaſyon made myne ennemye, but by ſucceſſyon frome thyn auncetors borne myne enemye, I not onely ſaued the,

but

but also gaue vnto the all thyn inheritaunce. And at this day thou art so prosperous and ryche, that they, whyche hadde with me bytroye, do enuye the, that were vaynquished. Thou askeddest of me a spirituall promotion, and furthwith I gaue it the, before many other, whose parentes hadde serued me in warres. And for that I haue done so moche for the, thou haste nowe pourposed to slee me. At that worde, whan Cinna cried oute, sayinge, that suche madnes was farre from his mynde. Cinna (sayd the emperour) thou kepest not promyse, it was couenanted, that thou shouldest not interrupte me. I say thou preparest to kyl me. And therto the emperour named his companions, the place, tyme, and order of al the conspiracy, and also to whom the swoorde was commyted. And whan he perceyued hym astonyed, holdynge than his peace, not for bycause that he sod promised, but that his cõscience him meued, For what intente dyddest thou thus, (sayde Augustus) bycause thou woldest be Emperoure? In good faythe the publyke weale is in an euyll astate, yf nothyng lettethe the to raygne, but I onely. Thou canst not mayntayne or defende thyne owne house. It is not longe sens that thou in a priuate iugement, were ouercomen of a poore man but late infraunchysed. Therfore thou mayst nothyng do lyghtlyer than plede agaynst the emperour. Saye nowe, do I alone let the of thy purpose? sup-

wylt thou that Paule, Fabius, Maximus, the Cosses, & Seruilius, auncyente houses of Rome, and suche a sorte of noble menne (nat they which haue vayne and glorious names, but such as for their merites be adorned with their propre images) wyll suffre the? Finally sayde the emperour (after that he had talked with him by the space of two houres) I giue to the thy lyfe Cinna the seconde tyme: fyrste beyng myn ennemy, nowe a traytour & murderer of thy souerain lord, whō thou oughtest to loue as thy father. Nowe from this daye let amitie betwene vs two begynne and lette vs bothe contende, whether I with a better harte haue gyuen to the thy lyfe, or that thou canst more gentilly recompence my kindnes.

¶ Soo after Augustus gaue to Cinna the dignitie of consull vnderfyred, blamyng hym, that he durste not aske it, wherby he hadde hym mooste assured and loyalle. And Cinna afterwarde dyeng, gaue to the emperour all his goodes and possessyons. And neuer after was Augustus in daunger of any treasone.

¶ O what sufficient prayse maye be gyuen to this moste noble and prudente emperour, that in a chambre alone, withoute menne, ordenance, or weapon, and perchaunce without harnes, within the space of. ii. houres, with wordes wel couched tempered with maiestie, not only vainquished and subdued one mortal enemie, which by a malignitie engendred of a domesticall hatred, had determined

to

slea hym, but by the same feate excluded out of the hole cytie of Rome all displeasure and rancour towarde him, so that there was not lefte any occasyon, wherof moughte procede any lyttel suspicion of treason, whiche other wise could not haue hapned without slaughter of people innumerable.

¶ Also the empresse Liuia, may not of right be forgotten, whyche myniſtred to her lorde that noble counsayle in suche a perplexitie, wherby he saued both hym selfe and his people. Suppose ye that all the Senatours of Rome, and counsaylours of the emperoure, whyche were lyttel fewer than a thousande, coulde haue better aduised hym? This hystorie therfore is no lesse to be remembred of women than of princes, takyng therby comforte to perswade swetely theyr housebandes to mercye and pacience, to whiche counsayle onely, they shoulde be admitted and haue fre lybertie. But I shal forbere to speke more of Liuia nowe, forasmoche as I purpose to make a booke onely for ladyes, where in her laude shalbe more amplye expressed. But to resorte nowe to mercy. A wyse woman.

¶ Surely nothynge more entierly and fastly ioyneth the harres of subiectes to theyr princes or soueraygne, than mercye and gentilnes. For Seneca saith: A temperate drede represseth hygh and sturdy mindes: feare frequent and sharpe, set forthe with extremitie, stereth menne to presumption and hardines. mercye and gentylnes.

and constrayneth theym to experimente all thynges He that hastily punisheth, oft tymes sone repēteth And who that ouer moch correcteth, obscureth sone equitie. And yf ye aske me what merr e is, it is a temperaunce of the mynde of hym, that hath power to be auenged, and it is called in latine Clementia and is alway ioyned with reson. For he that for euery lyttel occasion is meued with compassion, and beholdyng a man punished condignely for his offence, lamēteth or wayleth, is called pitiouse, which is a sickenesse of the mynd, wherewith at this day the moze parte of men be dyseased. And yet is the syckenes moche wars by addynge to one wozde, callynge it Vayne pitie.

Vayn pitie

¶ Some man perchance wyll demaunde of me, what is Vayne pite? To that I wyl answere in a description of dayly experience.

¶ Beholde what an infynite nombre of englishe men and women, at this present tyme, wander in all places throughoute this realme, as beastis bzutes and sauage abandonyng all occupation, seruice, and honestie, Howe many semely personages, by outrage in riote, gamyng, and excesse of apparayle, be enduced to theft and robbry, and somtyme to murder, to the inquietation of good men, and fynally to theyr owne destruction?

¶ Nowe consyder semblably, what noble statutes, ordinaunces, and actes of counsayl, from tyme to tyme haue ben excogitate, and

by

by graue studye and mature consultation, enacted and decreed, as welle for due punyshemente of the sayd vyle personnes and vacabundes, as also for the suppression of vnlaufull games, and reducynge apparayle to conuenyente moderation and temperance: How many proclamations therof haue ben dyuulgate, and not obeyed: Howe many cõmissyons dyrected, & not executed: (Marke well here, that disobediente subiectes, and negligente gouernours, doo frustrate good lawes) A man hearyng, that his neyghboure is slayne or robbed, forth with hateth the offendour, and abhorreth his enormitie, thinkyng hym worthy to be punyshed, according to the lawes. Yet whan he beholdeth the trãsgressour, a semely personage, also to be his seruant, acqueyntance or a gentyl man borne (I omytte nowe to speake of any other corruption) he forth with changeth his opinion, and preferreth the offendours condition or personage, before the exampl of iustice, condempnyng a good and necessary lawe, for to excuse an offence pernycious & dampnable, ye and this is not onely done by the vulgare or commune people, but moch rather by thẽ, whiche haue auctoryte to theym committed concernyng the effectual execution of lawes. They beholde at theyr eie the continuall encrease of vacaboundes, into infinite noumbres, the obstinate resistence of thẽ that dayly do transgresse the lawes made against ga-

mes, and apparayle, whyche be the streyght pathes to robbyn, and semblable mischiefe Yet yf anye one comissyoner, meued with zele to his countrey, accordyng to his duetie do execute duelye, and frequentlye the lawe or good ordynaunce, wherin is any sharpe punisshemente, some of his companyons therat reioyseth, infamyng him to be a man without charitie, callyng him secretely a pyke thanke, or ambicious of glorie, and by such maner of ablogue, secke meanes to bryngе hym in to the hatered of people. And this maye well be called vayne pitie, wherin is conteyned neyther iustice nor yet cõmendable charytie, but rather ther by ensueth negligence, contempte, disobedience, and fynally all myschiefe and inevitable miserie.

¶ If this Lykenesse hadde reygned among the olde Romaines, suppose ye that the astate of theyr publike weale had syxe hũdred yeres increased, and two hundred yeres continued in one excellente astate and wonderfull maiestie? Or thinke ye that the same Romaines mought soo haue ordred many greatte countreyes, with fewer mynisters of iustice, than be nowe in one shire of Englande?

¶ But of that mater, and also of rigour and equalitie of punishement, I wyll treate more amply in a place more propyse for that purpose. And here I conclude to wryte any more at this tyme of

mercy.

The

¶ The prȳcipal partes of humanitie. Cap. viii.

The nature & condition of man, wherin he is lesse than god almyghty, and excellynge not withstandyng al other creatures in erth is called humanitie: whiche is a general name to thole vertues, in whom semeth to be a mutuail concorde and loue, in the nature of man. And allthoughe there be many of the sayde vertues, yet be there thre prȳcipall, by whome humanitie is chiefely compact, Benivolence, Benefficence, and Liberalitie, whiche maketh vp the sayd prȳcipall vertue called Bemgnitie or gentylnes.

¶ Beuevolence, if it w extend to a hole cōstreye or cytie, is prȳoperly called charitie, and some tyme zele: and yf it concerne one persone, than is it called Beuevolence. And yf it be very feruent and to one singuler person than may it be named loue or amitie. Of that vertuous dyspolycion prȳcedeth an acte, wherby some thynge is compleyed, whyche is prȳofytable and good to hym that receyueth it. And that vertue, yf it be in operation, or (as I mought saye) endeuour: is called than Benefficence: and the dede (vulgarly named a good tourne) maye be called a benefytte. If it be in moneye, or other thynge that hathe substaunce, it is than called Liberalitie, whiche is not alway a vertue as Benefficence is: for in wel doing (which is the right interpre-

Charitie.

Beneuolence.

Loue.

Amitie.

Liberalitie.

Seneca de benef.

tation of Beneficence) can be no vice included But Liberalitie, thoughe it procede of a free and gentyll harte, wyllyng to do some thyng thankefull, yet may it transgresse the bondes of vertue, eyther in excessyue rewardes, or expences, or els imployeng treasour, promotion, or other substãce on persons vnworthy or on thynges inconuemente, and of smalle importaunce. Yl be it some thynke suche maner of erogation not to be worthy the name of Liberalitie.

A liberall man. Ethic. 2.

¶ Aristotle defineth a liberall man, whyche with erogat, according to the rate of his substance, and as opportunitie happeth. He saith also in the same place, that Liberalytie is not in the multitude or quantitie of that whiche is gyuen, but in the habite or facyon, of the gyuer. For he gyueth accordyng to his habilitie. Neyther Tully approueth it to be Liberalitie, wherin is any myxture of auarice or rapine: for it is not properly Liberalitie, to exact iniustly, or by violence or crafte to take goodes from particuler persons, and distribute theym in a multitude: or to take frome many iniustely, and enriche therwith on person or few. For as the same autour saith, the last precept cõcernyng benefites or rewardes is, to take good hede, that he contende not against equitie, ne that he vphold none iniury.

¶ Nowe wyll I procede seriously and in a due forme to speke more particularly of these thre vertues Notwithstanding there is such affinitie

affinitie betwene beneficence and liberalitie, beinge alwayes a vertue, that they tende to one conclusion or purpose, that is to saye, with a glad and free wyl to gyue to an other that thyng, whiche he before lacked.

¶ Of what excellence Beneuolence is. Cap ix.

When I remembre, what incomparable goodnes hath euer proceded of this vertue Beneuolence, mercyfulle god, what sweete sauour feele I, persynge my spirites, wherof both my sowle and body, to my thynkynge doo conceyue suche recreation, that it seemeth me to be in a paradyse, or other semblable place of incomparable delites and pleasures.

¶ Fyrst I beholde the dignitie of that vertue, consyderynge that god is therby chiefly knowen and honoured, both of aungell and man. As contrarywyse, the deuyll is hated & reproued both of god and man for his malyce, whiche vyce is contraryous and repugnant to Beneuolence. Wherfore withoute Beneuolence may be no god. For god is all goodnes, all charitie, all loue, whiche holly be comprehended in the sayde worde Beneuolence.

¶ Nowe let vs see, where any other vertue maye be equall in dignitie with this vertue Beneuolence; or yf any vertue remayneth:

where this is excluded? For what commeth of Prudence, where lacketh Beneuolence? but discepte, rauyne, auarice, and tyranny. What of Fortitude? but beastely crueltie, oppression, and effusyon of bloudde. What iustyce may there be without beneuolence? Sens the fyrst or chiefe portion of iustyce (as Tully sayth) is to indomage no man, onelle thou be wrongfully vexed. And what is the cause herof, but equall and entier loue, whiche being remoued or cessyng, who endeuoureth not hym selfe to take from an other all thynge that he coueteth, or for euery thynge that discontenteth hym, wold not forthwith be auenged: wherby he confoundeth the vertue called Temperance, whiche is the moderatrice as well of al motions of the mynde, called affectes, as of al actis proceding of mā ¶ Here it sufficiently appeereth (as I suppose) of what estimation beneuolence is.

Now wyl I endeuour me to recreate the spirites of the dyligent reder, with some delectable hystories, wherin is any noble remembraunce of this vertue Beneuolence, that the worthynes therof may appeere in a more plaine declaration: For in euery discipline, exaumple is the beste instructour. But fyrste I wylle aduertyse the reader, that I wyll nowe wryte of Beneuolence onely, whiche is most vniuersall, wherin is equalitie without syngular affection or acceptance of personages.

And

¶ And here it is to be noted, that if a gouernour of a publike weal, iudge, or any other minister of iustyce, do gyue sentence against one that hath trauligressed the lawes, or punysheth hym according to the qualitie of his trespas: Beneuolēce therby is not any thing perysshed: for the condemnation or punyshement, is eyther to reduce hym that erreth into the trayne of vertue, or to preserue a multitude from dommage, by puttynge men in feare, that be prone to offende, dredynge the sharpe correction, that they beholde an other to suffre. And that manner of seuerite is touched by the prophete Dauid in the fourthe psalme, sayinge in this wyse: Be you angry, and loke that you syn not. And Tulli saith, in his fyrst boke of Offices: It is to be wished, that they, whiche in the publike weale haue any auctorite, may be like to the lawes whiche in correctyng be lad onely by equitie, and not by wrathe or displeasure. That Iustyce neuer lacke beneuolence. Sharpnes of iustyce.

¶ And in that maner, whā Chore, Dathan, and Abiron, moued sedition agaynst Moyses, he prayed god, that the erthe mought open and swalowe theym, consyderynge that the fury of the people mought not be by any other meanes asswaged, ne they kept in due rule or obedience.

¶ Helias, the holy prophete of god, dyd his owne handes putte to deathe the prieستes of the Idoll Baal, yet ceassed he not with fastynge, prayng, louge and tedyous pylgrymages, Helias

mages, to pacifye the displeasure that god toke agaynste the people of Israell. But to retourne to Benevolence.

¶ Moyses, being hyghly entertayned with Pharao kyng of Egypte, and so moche in his fauour, by the meanes of the kynges syster, that (as Iosephus saith) he being made cappytayn of a huge army, was sent by Pharao agaynste the Ethiopyans or Moores, where he made suche explopture, that he not onely atchieued his enterpryse, but also had gyuen vnto hym for his prowes, the kynges doughter of Ethiopia to be his wyfe, with great abundance of ryches. And also for his endeuour, prowes, and wysdom, was moch esteemed by Pharao and the nobles of Egypte, so that he moughte haue lyued there contynually in moche honour and welth, yf he wold haue preferred his singular auayle, before the vnyuersall weale of his owne kinrede or family: But he inflamed with feruent benevolence or zeale towarde theym, to redeme them out of theyr myserable bōdage chase rather to be in the dangerous indignation of Pharao, to commytte his person to the changeable myndes of a multitude, and they moste vnstable, to passe great and longe iourneys through deserts, replenished with wylde beastes and venemous serpentes, to suffre extreme hunger and thyrste, lackynge often tyme not onely vytayle, but also fresshe water to dryncke: than to be in a palayce of

Pha-

Pharao, where he shulde haue ben satisfied with honour, tychesse, and ease, and all other thynges pleasant.

¶ Who that redeth the boke of Exodi, shal fynde the chastitie of this man wonderfull. For whan almyghty god, being greuously mcued with the chyldren of Israel, for theyr ingratitude, for as moch as they oftentimes murmured agaynst hym, and vn th mought be kepte by Moyses from ydolatry, he sayd to Moyses: That he wolde destroy theym vtterly, & make hym rular of a moch greatter and better people. But Moyses bienyng in a meruailous charite towardes thē, sayd vnto god: This peopl: good lord, haue moste greuously synned, yet eyther forgyue theym this trespas, or yf ye do not, stryke me cleane out of the boke that he wrate. And dyuers other tymes he importunately cryed to god for the saufegarde of them, not withstandynge that many tymes they concluded to haue slayne hym, yf he had not bene by his wysedome, and specially by the power of god preserued.

¶ But peraduenture some whiche seke for sterlyng holes to mayntcyn theyr vyces, wyl obiecte, saying: that Moyses was aholy prophet, and a person elect by predestination, to delyuer the chyldren of Israel, out of captiuitie, whiche he coulde not haue done, yf he had not ben of suche pacience and charytie. Therfore let vs see what examples of semblable

blable benenolence we can fynde amonge the gentiles, in whom was no vertue inspired, but that only whiche natural reson induced.

Pacience. ¶ Whan a furious and wylfull yonge man in a sedition, had stryken out one of the eies of kynge Licurgus, the people wolde haue slayne hym, and the kynge wolde not suffre them, but had hym home to his house, and by suche wyse meanes corrected the yonge man, that at the last he brought hym to good maners and wysedome.

¶ Also the same Licurge, to the entent that the effect of his benenolense, towarde the cōmune weale of his countrey mought persist and contynue, and that his excellent lawes, beinge stablyshed, shuld neuer be alterate, he dyd let sweare all his people, that they shuld change no parte of his lawes, vntyl he were returned, sayenyng to them, that he wold go to Delphos, where Apollo was chiefly honoured, to consult with that god, what seemed to hym to be added to, or mynysshed of those lawes, whyche also he feyned to haue receyued of the sayd Apollo. But fynally he went into the Isle of Crete, where he continued and dyed, commandyng at his deathe, that his bones shulde be cast into the sea, lest yf they were brought into Lacedemonia his countrey, the people shulde thynke them self of theyr othe and promyse dyscharged.

Codrus kyng of Athenes. ¶ Semblable loue Codrus the last kyng of Athenes, had to his countrey. For where the

people

people called Dozes (whom some thynke to be nowe Sicilians) wold auenge theyr old grudges agayne the Athenienses, they demaunded of some of theyr goddis, what successe shoulde happen, yf they made any warres. Vnto whom answere was made, that if they slewe not the kyng of Athenienses, they shulde than haue the victorye. Whan they came to the fielde, strayte commaundement was gyuen amonge theym, that aboue all thyng, they shulde haue good awayte of the kynge of Athenes, whiche at that tyme was Codrus. But he before knowynge the answere made to the Dozes, and what commaundement was gyuen to the armye, dyd put of his pryncely habite or robes, and in apparayle all ragged and rente, cartenge on his necke a bundell of twygges, entred into the hoste of his ennemies, and was slayne in the preasse by a souldiour, whome he wounded with a hoke purposely. But whā it was perceyued and knowen to be the corps of kynge Codrus, the Dozes all dismayed departed from the field, without proferynge battayle. And in this wyse the Athenienses, by the vertue of their moste benevolent kyng, who for the saulfgarde of his countrey, willingly died, were clerely deliuered frō batail. Charitie

¶ O noble Codrus, howe worthy had you bene (if god had bene pleased) to haue abouden the raparation of mankynd, that in the habite and relygion of a chrysten pryncc, ye

mought

mought haue shewed your wonderful benee uolence and courage for the saufegarde of chriſten men, and to the noble exãple of o= ther princis.

Curtius. ¶ Curtius, a noble knyght of the Romains hadde no lesse loue to his countrey than Co= drus. For soone after the begynnyng of the citie, there hapned to be a great erthe quaue, and after there remayned a great dell or pyt without bottome, whyche to beholde was horryble and lothsome, and out of it proce= ded suche a dampe or ayre, that corrupted al the citie with pestylence. Wherfore whanne they had counsayled with such idols as they than worshypped, answere was made, that the erthe shulde not close, vntyll there were into it the moste precious thynge in the city. Which answer receiued there was throwen throwen in ryche iewels of golde and preci= ous stone: but all auayled not. At the laste Curtius, beinge a yonge and goodly gentyll man, consyderynge that no ryches throwen in, profyted, fynally conjected, that the lyfe of man was aboue all thynges moste preci= ous, to the intent the residue of the people mought be saued by his onely deathe, he ar= med hym selfe at all poyntes, and syttyng on a courser, with his swerde in his hande redy drawen, with a valyant and fyerse courage enforced his horse to leape into the dell or pyt and forthewith it ioyned togyther, and clo= sed, leauynge onely a sygne where the pytte was.

was, whyche longe after was called Curtius lake.

¶ I passe ouer the two Decius, Marcus Regulus, and many other princes and noble menne, that for the weale of theyr countrey dyed wylyngly. And nowe wyll I speake of suche as in many other forme haue declared theyr benenolence.

The power of benenolence.

¶ Xenophō the condiscyple of Plato, wrate the lyfe of Cirus kynge of persia mooste elegantely, wherin he expresseth the fygure of an excellēt gouernor or capitaine: he sheweth there, that Crelus kynge of Lidia, whome Cyrus hadde taken prysoner, subdued his countray, and possessed his treasure, sayd on a tyme to Cyrus, whan he beheelde his lyberalitie: That such largenes as he vsed shuld bryngе hym in pouertie, where vpon he lysted, he moughte accumulate vp treasure incomparable. Than Cyrus demanded of Crelus, what treasure supose ye shuld I now haue, yf durynge the tyme of my reigne, I wolde haue gadred and kepte money, as ye exhorte me to doo? Than Crelus named a greatte somme. Wel sayd Cyrus, send ye some man, whom ye beste truste, with Histalpa my seruaunt. And thou Histalpa, go aboute to my frendes, & shewe them that I lacke golde towarde a certain busynes: wherfore I wyll, they send me as moch as they can, & that they put it in wrytyng, and sende it sealed by the seruant of Crelus. In the same wyse Cyrus

wzate in a letter, and also that they shuld re-
ceiue Hystaspa as his counsaylour & frende,
and sent it by hym. Hystaspa, after that he
had done the message of Cyrus, and was re-
turned with the seruaunt of Cresus, who
brought letters from Cyrus frendes, he said
to Cyrus, O syr, from hensforth loke that ye
take me for a man of greate substaunce. For
I am hyghely rewarded with manye greate
gyftes for bryngyng your letters. Than Cy-
rus at the houre appoynted, lad with hym
kyng Cresus into his campe, saying to hym:
nowe beholde here is our treasure: accounte
it ye can, howe moche money is redy for me,
yf I haue nede of anye to occupie. Whan
Cresus beheldе, & reckened the innumerable
treasure, whyche in sondry partes were laid
about the pauilion of Cyrus, he found moch
more than he sayde to Cyrus that he shoulde
haue in his treasure, yf he hym selfe had ga-
dred and kept it. And whan all appered suffi-
cientlye, Cirus than sayd: Howe thynke you
Cresus, haue I not treasure? And ye counsai-
led me, that I shuld gather and kepe money,
by occasyon wherof I shulde be enuied & ha-
ted of my people. And more ouer put my trust
to seruantes hyred to haue rule therof. But
I do all otherwyse, for in makyng my fren-
des ryche, I take theym all for my treasure &
haue them more sure & trusty kepers, both of
me and my substance, than I shuld do those,
whom I muste truste onely for theyr wages.

Lorde

¶ Lord god, what a notable hystorie is this, and worthy to be grauen in tables of golde: consyderyng the vertue and power of benevolence therin expressed, For the benevolente mynd of a gourrnour, not onely byndeth the hartes of the peple vnto hym, with the chaine of loue, more strōger than any material bondes, but also gardeth more saufely his persone, thanne any toure or garyson.

¶ The eloquent Tulli saithe in his offyces, Offic. ii
Liberall harte is cause of benevolence, all thoughe perchaunce power sometyme lacketh. Contrary wyse, he sayth: They that desyre to be feared, nedes muste they drede them, of whom they be feared.

¶ Also Plini the yonger saithe, He that is In panegyrico.
not enuironned with charitie, in vayne is he garded with terrour, lens armure with armure is sterçd. Whyche is ratyfyed by the mooste graue philosopher Seneke, in his De clemetia.
booke of mercye, that he wrate to NERO, where he saithe: He is moche deceyued, that thynketh a manne to be sure, where nothing frome hym can be saulfe. For with mutualle assurance, suretie obteyned.

¶ Antonius Pius, emperoure of Rome so Antonius Pius.
moche tendred the benevolence of his peple, than whan a great numbre hadde conspired treason againste hym, the senate beyng therwith greuously meued, endeuoured them to punishe the said conspiratours, but the emperour caused the examination to cesse saying:

It shuld not nede to seeke to busily for them that intendeth suche mischiefe, lest yf they founde many, he shoulde knowe, that many hated him, Also whā the people (for as moch as on a tyme they lacked corne in theyr graynardes, wolde haue slayne him with stones) rather he wolde haue the seditious persones to be punyshed, in his owne persone declared to theym the occasyon of the scarcytie, wherewith they beynge pacifyed, euery man helde hym contented.

kynge Philip. ¶ I hadde almoste forgotten a notable and worthy remembraunce of kynge Philyp, father to greate kynge Alexander. It was on a tyme to hym reported, that one of his capitaines had menacing wordes towardis him, wherby it semed he intended somme domage towarde his persone. Wherfore his counsayle aduysed hym, to haue good awayte of the sayd capitayne, and that he were put vnder ward. To whom the kyng answered. If any parte of my body were syeke or els sore, whether shulde I therfore cut it from the residue, & caste it frome me, or els endeuoure my selfe, that it mought be healed? And than he called for the sayd capitayn, and so entertayned hym with familyaritie and bounteous rewardes, that euer after he hade hym more assured and loyall, than euer he was.

Agesilaus. ¶ Agesilaus, kinge of Lacedemonia, to hym that demanded, howe a kyng mought moste surely gouerne his realme, wythoute sould-

diours

dfours or a garde to his perſon, anſwered, If he reygned ouer his people, as a father dothe ouer his chyldren.

¶ The cytie of Athenes, frome whenſe yſſued all excellente doctrine and wyſedome, durynge the tyme that it was gouerned by thoſe perſones, vnto whō the people mought haue a familiar acceſſe, and boldly expounde theyr greſes and damages, proſpered merueyloufly, and durynge a longe ſeaſon, reygned in honour and weale. Afterwarde the Lacedemons, by the mutabilitie of fortune, vanquyſhed theym in battayle, and commyted the cytie of Athenes, to the kepynge of xxx. of theyr owne capitaynes, whyche were for theyr pryde and auaryce called tyrantes. But nowe ſe howe lyttell ſuretie is in greate noumbre of ſtrengthe, where lacketh beneuolence. Theſe xxx. tyrantes were contynually enuironned with ſondry gariſons of armed menne, whiche was a terrible viſage, to people that before lyued vnder the obedience of their lawes only. Fynally the Athenienſes, by feare beynge put frome theyr accuſtomed acceſſe to theyr gouernours to require iuſtice and therwith beyng fatigate as men oppreſſed with contynuall iniurie, toke to theym a deſperate courage, and in concluſyon expelled out of the cytie all the ſayd tyrantes, and reduced it into his pryſtinate gouernaunce. The. xxx. tyrantes of Athenes. Puiſſance lacking beneuolence.

¶ What myſery was in the lyfe of Dionyſe the tyrant of Sicile: who knowyng, that his Dionyſe kynge of Sicile.

people desyred his destruction, for his cruell and cruelte, wolde not be of any man shauen but first caused his owne doughters to clyp his beard: And afterwarde also mystrusting them, he hym selfe with a brennyng cole seared the heares of his beard: and yet fynally was distroyed.

Alexander Phereus.

¶ In lyke wretchednesse was one Alexander, prince of a citie called Pherea, for he hauyng an excellent fayre wife, not onely excluded al men frō her company, but also as often as he wolde lye with her, certayne personnes shoulde go before hym with torches, and he folowing with his swerd redy drawen, wold ther with enserche the bedde, coffers and all other places of his chaumbre, lest any manne shoulde be there hydde to hym, to the entent to slea hym. And that not withstandyng, by the procurements of his sayde wyfe (who at the laste fatigate with his mooste folysshe iealousy, conuerted her loue into hatred) he was slayne by his owne subiectes

¶ Nowe doth it appere, that this reuerende vertue Benenolence, is of all menne, mooste specially of gouernours and men of honour, incomparably before other to be embraced. The treasure of a gentyl countenance, swete aunsweres, ayde in aduersitie, not with money onely, but alsoo with studye and diligent endeuour, canne neuer be wasted, ne the loue of good people therby acquired, can be from theyr hartes in any wyse seperate. And here

I make

I make an ende to speake any more atte this tyme of Benevolence.

Of beneficence and liberalitie. Ca. x.

ALthoughe philosophers, in the description of vertues, haue diuised to set theym as it were in degrees, hauyng respect to the qualitie and condition of the persomne, whyche is with theym adourned, as applyeng Magnificence to the substaunce and astate of prynces, and to priuate persomnes Beneficence and Liberalitie: yet ben not these in any parte defalcate of theyr condigne prayses. For yf vertue be an electiō annexed vnto our nature, and consisteth in a meane whiche is determyned by reason, and that meane is the very myddes of two thinges vycious, the one in surpluſage, the other in lacke, than nedes muste Beneficence & Liberalitie be capital vertues, & Magnificence procedeth frome them, approchyng to the extreme partes. And maye be turned into vyce, if he lacke the brydel of reason. But Beneficence can by no meanes be vicious & retayne styll his name. Semblablye Lyberalitie (as Aristotle sayethe) is a measure, as well in gyuynge as in takynge of moneye and goodes. And he is onely lyberal, whyche distributeth accordynge to his substaunce, and where it is expedient. Therfore he ought to cōsyder, to whom he shuld gyue, how moch, and whan.

Aristotel. Ethico. i.

Vertue what it is.

Beneficence

Liberalite

Considerations in gyuynge.

For lyberalytie taketh his name of the substance of the personne, frome whom it proceedeth: for it resteth not in the quantie or qualite of thynges that be gyuen, but in the naturall disposition of the gyuer.

Alexander. ¶ The greate Alexander on a tyme after he had vanquyshed Darius in a battaile, one of his souldiours broughte vnto hym the heade of an ennemy that he had slayne, whyche the kyng thankefully, & with swete countenance receyued, and takynge a cuppe of golde fylled with good wine, said vnto the souldiour. In olde tyme a cuppe of golde was the reward of suche vertue, as thou hast shewed, whyche semblablye thou shalte receyue. But whan the souldiour for shamefastnes refused the cup, Alexander added vnto it these wordes. The custome was to gyue the cuppe emptie, but Alexander gyueth it to the fulle of wyne, with good handsell.

¶ Wherwith he expressed his lyberal hart, and as moche comforted the souldiour, as if he had gyuen to hym a great cytie.

Liberall. ¶ More ouer, he that is lyberalle, neglecteth not his substance or goodes, ne gyueth it to all men, but vseth it so, as he may continually helpe therwith other, & gyueth whan, and where, and on whome it oughte to be employed. Therfore it maye be sayde that he vseth euery thyng beste, that exercyseth vertue, whyche is to the thynge most appropried. For rychesse is of the nōbre of thynges, that

maye

may be eyther good or yuell, whych is in the arbitrement of the gyuer. And for that cause Liberalitie and Beneficence be of suche affinite, that the one may neuer frome the other be separate. For the employement of money is nat Lyberalite, if it be nat for a good end or purpose.

¶ The noble emperours Antonine and Alexander Seuerus, gaue of the reuenues of the empire innumerable substance, to the redifyeng of cities and cõmon houses decayd for age, or by erthquaues subuerted, wherin they practiced Liberalitie: also Beneficẽce. Alexander and liberal Antonine emperours

¶ But Tyberius, Nero, Caligula, Heliogabalus, and other semblable monsters, whiche exhausted and consumed infinite treasures in bordell howses and places, where abhominations were vsed, also in curychynge slaues, concubynes, and baudes, were nat named lyberall, but suffren therefore perpetuall reproche of wryters, beinge called deuourers and wasters of treasure. Wherfore in as moche as Lyberalitie holly resteth in the gyuynge of money, it sometyme colloureth a vice: But Beneficence is neuer taken but in the better parte, and (as Tully saith) is taken oute of vertue, where Liberalytie commeth out of the coffer. Prodigalitie.

¶ Also where a man dystributeth his substance to many persons, the lasse Liberalitie, shall he vse to other: so with bounteousnes, bountie is mynished. Onely they that be cal-

led beneficiall, and do vse the vertue of Beneficence, whiche consysteth in counsayling, and healpynge other with any assistence in tyme of nede, shal alway fynde coadiutours and suppoziters of their gentyl courage. And doubtlesse, that maner of gentylnesse, that consysteth in labour, study, and diligence, is moze cõmendable, and extẽdeth further, and also may moze pzofit pzsons, than that whi che resteth in rewardes and expences. But to retourne to liberalitie.

Pzodigalitie.

What greater foly may be, thã that thing that a man moste gladly dothe, to endeuour hym with all study, that it may no longer be done? Wherfoze Tulli calleth them pzodygall, that in inozdinate feastes and banquettes, vayne playes, and huntinges, do spende all theyz substance, & in those thinges, wherof they shall leaue but a shozte oz no remembzance. Wherfoze to resozt to the counsaile of Arystotle befoze expzessed: Liberalitie, in a noble mã specially, is cõmended, although it somewhat exeede the termes of measure. And yf it be well and duely imployed, it acquyzeth perpetuall honour to the gyuer, and moche frute and syngular commoditie thereby encreaseth. Foz where honestie and vertuous pzsonages be aduaunced, and wel rewarded, it styzreth the courages of menne, which haue any sparke of vertu, to encrease therein with all theyz foze and endeuour. Wherfoze nexte to the helpynge and relee-

uynge

uynge of a communaltie, the greatte parte of Liberalitie is to be employed on men of vertue and good qualities, wherin is requyred to be a good election and iugement, that for hope of rewarde or fauour, vnder the cloke of vertue, be nat hyd the moste mortal poyson of flattery.

¶ The true description of amitie or frendshyp. Cap. xi.

I haue al redy treated of Beneuolence and Beneficence generally. But for as moche as Frendshyp, called in latyne Amicitia, comprehendeth both those vertues more specially, and in an hyghet degree, and is now so infrequente or straunge amonge mortall men, by the tyranny of couetyse or ambition whiche haue longe reigned, and yet do, that amitie may now vneth be knowen, or found throughout the worlde, by them that seeke for her as diligently, as a mayden wold seke for a small syluer pynne in a great chamber, strawed with whyte rushes. I wyll therfore borowe so moch of the gentyll reder, though he be nyghe weery of this longe matter, bareyne of eloquence and pleasant sentence, and declare somewhat by the wayt, of very and true frendshyppe. Whyche perchaunce may be an allectiue to good men to seke for theyr semblable, on whome they may practise amitie. For as Tully sayth: Nothynge is Cl. off. I.

more

more to be loued, or to be ioyned togyther, than similitude of good maners or vertues: wherin be the same or semblable studies, the same wylles or desyres: in them it happeth, that one in an other as moche delyteth as in hym selfe. But nowe let vs enserche what frendshyp or amitie is.

Ethic.vi. Tulli de amicitia.

¶ Aristotle saith: Frendshyp is a vertue, or ioyneth with vertue. Which is affyrmed by Tulli, saying: Frendshyp can nat be without vertue, ne but in good men onely. Who be good men, he after declareth, to be those persons, whiche so doo beare theym selues, and in suche wyse do lyue, that theyr faythe, suretie, equalitie, and lyberalitie, be sufficiently proued. Ne that there is in theym any couetyse, wylfulnes, or foolehardynesse, and that in them is great stabilitie or constance: them suppose I (as they be taken) to be called good men, whyche do folowe (as moche as men may) nature the chiefe capytayne or guyde of mans lyfe. More ouer, the same Tulli defineth frendship in this maner, saying, It is none other thynge, but a perfecte consent of all thynges appertaynyng alwell to god as to manne, with Benevolence and Charitie. And that he knoweth nothyng gyuen of god, except sapience, to man more cõmodious. Which definition is excellent and very true. For in god and all thyng that cõmeth of god, nothyng is of more greatter estimation than loue, called in latine, Amor,

wher-

whereof Amicitia, commeth, named in englyche Frendshyp or amitie: the whyche taken awaye frome the lyfe of man, no house shall abyde standyng, no field shall be in culture. And that is lyghtly perceyued, yf a mā do remembre, what commeth of dissention and dyscorde, fynally he seemeth to take the sonne from the worlde, that taketh frendshyp from mans lyfe.

¶ Sens frendeshyp can not be but in good men, ne may not be without vertue, we may be assured, that therof none euyll may procede, or therwith any euyl thyng may participate. Wherfore in as moche as it maye be but in a fewe persones, (good men beinge in a small numbre) And also it is rare and seldome, as all vertues be communely, I wyll declare after the opynion of phylosophers, and partely by commune experience, who amonge good men be of nature moste apte to frendshyp.

¶ Betwene all men that be good, can nat alwaye be amitie, but it also requyreth, that they be of semblable or moche lyke maners or study, and specially of maners. For grauitie and Affabilitie, be euery of them laudable qualities. So be Sencritie and Placabilitie. Also Magnificence and Liberalite be noble vertues: and yet Frugalitie, which is a sobrenesse or moderation in lyuynge, is, and that for good cause of all wyse men extolled. Yet where these vertues and qualy-

ties

ties be separately in sundry persones assembled, may well be perfect concorde, but frendshyp is there seldom or neuer. For that, whiche the one for a vertue imbraceth, the other contemneth, or at the leste neglecteth. Wher fore it seemeth, that it, wherin the one delyteth, is repougnaunt to the others nature: And where is any repougnaunce, may be none amitie, sens frendeshyppe is an entier consent of wylles and desyres. Therfore it is seldome seene, that frendshyp is betwene these persones, A man sturdye of opynion inflexible, and of lowre countenance: speche with hym that is tractable, and with reason perswaded, and of swete countenaunce and entertaynemente. Also betweene hym, whyche is elevate in auctoritie, and an other of a verye base astate or degree, ye and yf they be bothe in an equall dygnitie, yf they be desyrous to clymbe, as they doo ascende, so frendshyppe for the more parte decayeth. For as Tully sayethe, in his fyrste booke of offices: What thing so euer it be, in the whiche many can nat excelle, or haue therin superiozitie, therin oftentymes is suche a contention, that it is a thyng of all other most difficile, to kepe among them good or vertuous company: that is as moche to say, as to retayne amonge theym frendshyp and amitie. And it is oftētimes sene, that dyuers, which before they came in auctoritie, were of good and vertuous cōditions, being in theyr prosperitie

ſperitie were vtterly chãged, and deſpiſyng theyr old frendes, ſet all theyr ſtudy and pleſure on theyr newe acquayntance. Wherein men ſhall perceyue to be a wonderfull blindnes, or (as I nought ſay) a madneſſe, if they note diligently al that I ſhall hereafter wyte of frendſhyp. But nowe to reſort to ſpeake of them, in whome frendeſhyp is moſte frequẽt, & they alſo therto be moſt aptly diſpoſid ¶ Undoutedly it be ſpecially they, which be wyſe, and of nature inclyned to beneficence, Liberalitie, and Conſtance. For by wyſedome is marked and ſubſtancially decerned the wordes, actes, and demeanure of all men, betwene whome happeneth to be any entercours or familiaritie, whereby is ingendred a fauour or diſpoſition of loue. Beneficence that is to ſay, mutually putting to theyr ſtudy and healpe in neceſſary affayres, induceth loue. They that be lyberall, doo withholde or hyde nothynge from theym, whome they loue, wherby loue increaſeth. And in theym that be conſtaunt is neuer myſtruſt or ſuſpition, nor any ſurmyſe or yuell repoſte canne withdrawe theym from theyr affection. And hereby frendſhyppe is made perpetuall and ſtable. But yf ſymilitude of ſtudy or learnynge be ioyned vnto the ſayde vertues, frendeſhyp muche rather hapneth, and the mutuall enteruewe and conuerſation is moche more pleſant, ſpecially if the ſtudies haue in them any delectable affection or motion.

For

For where they be to serious, or full of contention, frendshyp is oftentymes assaulted, wherby it is often in peryll. Where the study is elegāt, and the matter illecebrous, that is to say, swete to the reder, the course wher of is rather gentyll perswasion and quycke reasonynges, than ouer subtyll argument, or litigious controuersyes: there also it happeneth, that the students do delyte one in a nother, and be without enuy or malicioule contention.

¶ Nowe let vs try out, what is that frendship, that we suppose to be in good men. Verily it is a blessed and stable cōnexion of sundry wylles, makyng of two persones one, in hauyng and suffryng. And therfore a frend is properly named of Philosophers, the other I. For that in theym is but one mynde and one possession: and that, whyche more is, a man more reioyseth at his frendes good fortune, than at his owne.

¶ Horestes and Pilades, being wonderfull lyke in all features, were taken togither, and presented vnto a tyraunte, who deadely hated Horestes. But whan he beheld theym bothe, and wolde haue slayne Horestes onely, he coulde not decerne the one from the other: And also Pilades, to deliuer his frend affyrmed, that he was Orestes: on the other parte Orestes, to saue Pilades, denied, and sayd, that he was Orestes (as the trouthe was) Thus a longe tyme they togther contē-

kendynge, the one to dye for the other, at the last so relented the fierse and cruell harte of the tyrant, that wondryng at theyr meruaylous frendshyp, he suffred theym freely to departe, without doynge to them any domage.

Pitheas & Damon

¶ Pitheas and Damō, two Pithagoriens, that is to say, studentes of Pythagoras lernynge, beynge loyned togyther in a perfecte frendeshyp: for that one of theym was accused to haue conspired against Dionise kyng of Sicile, they were both taken and brought to the kyng, who immediatly gaue sentence, that he that was accused, shoulde be put to deathe. But he desyred the kynge, that er he dyed, he moughte retourne home, to set his housholde in order, and to dystribute his goodes. Whereat the kynge laughynge, demaunded of hym skornfully, what pledge he wold leaue hym, to come agayn. At the which woordes, his companion stept forth and said, that he wolde remayne there as a pledge for his frend, that in case he came not agayne, at the daye appoynted, he wyllyngly wolde lose his heade. Whyche condicyon the tyraunte receyued. The yonge man, that shoulde haue dyed, was suffred to departe home to his hous, where he dyd set all thyng in order, and disposed his goodes wisely. The day appointed for his retourne was commen, the tyme moche passed. Wherfore the kyng called for him that was pledge. Who came forthe manly, without semblaunt of drede, offryng to

abyde the sentence of the tyraunte, and with out grudgyng, to dye for the sauyng the lyfe of his frende. But as the officer of iustyce hadde cloſed his eyen with a kerchyefe, and hadde drawen his swerde, to haue striken of his hede, his felowe came rennyng & cryeng, that the daye of his appoyntmente was not yet paſte: Wherfore he delyred the minister of iustice to loſe his felowe, and to prepare to doo execution on hym, that hadde gyuen the occaſyon, whereat the tyraunte beyng al abaſhed, commaunded bothe to be broughte in his preſence, and whan he hadde ynough wondred at their noble hartes, and their constance in very frendeſhyp, he offryng to them greate rewardes, delyred theym to receyue hym into theyr company: and ſo doyng them no che honour, dyd ſet theym a libertie.

¶ Undoubtedly that frendeſhyppe, whyche doth depende eyther on profyte or els in pleſure, yf the habilitie of the perſon, whiche ought be profytable, doo fayle or diminyſche, or the diſpoſytion of the perſonne, whyche ſhulde be pleaſaunt do chaſige or appayre, the feruentneſſe of loue ceſ- ſeth, and thanne is there no frendeſhyp.

The

The wonderfull hiſtorye of Titus & Giſippus, & wherby is fully declared the figure of perfect amitie. Cap. xii.

But now in the myddes of my labour, as it were to pauſe and take breth, and alſo, to recreate the reders, whyche fatigate with long preceptes, deſyre varietie of mater, or ſome new pleaſaunt fable or hyſtorie, I wyll reherce a right goodly example of frendſhip, whiche example ſtudiouſly red, ſhall miniſter to the reders ſinguler pleaſur, & alſo incredible comforte to practiſe amitie.

¶ There was in the cytie of Rome a noble ſenatour, named Fuluius, who ſent his ſon, called Titus, beyng a chylde, to the cytie of Athenes in greece (whiche was the fountaine of all maner of doctrine) there to lerne good letters: and cauſed hym to be hoſted with a worſhypfull man of that cytie, called Chremes. This Chremes hapened to haue alſo a ſonne, named Giſippus, who not onely was equal to the ſayde ponge Titus in yeres, but alſo in ſtature, proporcion of body, fauour, & colour of viſage, countenaunce and ſpeche. The two chyldren were ſo like, that without moche difficultie it coulde not be decerned of theyr propre parentes, whyche was Titus frome Gyſippus, or Giſippus frome Titus: Theſe two yong gentilmen, as they ſemed to be one in fourme & perſonage, ſo ſhortly after acquayntaunce, the ſame nature wrought in

their hartes such a mutual affection, that their
wylles and appetites daily more and more so
cõfederated them selues, that it semed none
other, whan they? names were declared, but
that they hadde only chaunged they? places,
yssuing (as I mought say) out of the one bo-
dy, & entryng into the other. They together,
and at one tyme went to they? lernyng & stu-
dye. at on tyme to th? meales and refection,
they delyted bothe in one doctrine, and pro-
fyted equally therin, fynally th?y together so
increased in doctrine, that within a fewe ye-
res, fewe within Athenes mought be compa-
red vnto theym At the laste dyed Themes,
whiche was not onely to his son, but also to
Titus cause of moche sorowe and heuinesse.
Eyslippus, by the goodes of his father was
knowen to be a mã of great substance: where-
fore there were offred to him great and ryche
mariages And he than being of rype yeres, &
of an habile & goodly personage, his frendes
kynne, and alies exhorted hym busily to take
a wyfe, to the entent he mought increase his
lynage and progenie. But the ponge manne,
hauing his hart al redy wedded to his frend
Titus, and his mynde fyxed to the studye of
philosophie, feryng that mariage shoulde be
the occasyon to seuer hym bothe frome thone
and the other, refused of longe tyme to be
perswaded, vntyll at the laste, partely by the
importunate callynge on of his kynnesmen,
partely by the consente and aduyse of his

dere

dere frend Titus, therto by other desyred, he assented, to mary such one as shuld like him. What shal nede any wordes? his frend foūde a yong gentil woman, whiche in equalitie of peres, vertuous cōdicions, nobilite of bloud, beauty, and sufficiente richesse, they thought was for suche a yong man apt & conuenient. And whan they and her frendes vpon the cōuenantes of mariage were throughly accorded, they conseyled Philippus to repayre vnto the mayden, and to beholde howe her persone contented him. And he so doyng, founde her in euery fourme and condicion, according to his expectation and appetite, wherat he moche reioised, and became of her amorouse, in soo moche as many and often tymes, leauyng Titus at his study, he secretely repayred vnto her. Not withstandyng the feruent loue that he hadde to his frende Titus, at the last surmounted shamefastnes. Wherfore he disclosed to him his secretes tourneys, & what delectation he toke in beholdyng the excellent beautie of her, whom he pourposed to mary: and howe with her good maners and swete entertaynemente, she hadde constrayned him to be her louer. And on a tyme, he hauynge with hym his frende Titus, wente to his lady, of whō he was receyued moste ioyously. But Titus furthewith as he wheide so heauenly a personage, adourned with beautye inexplicable, in whose vysage was mooste amyable countenaunce, myxte with maydenly

shamefastnesse, & the rare and sobre wordes, and well couched, whiche yssued oute of her pretye mouthe, Titus was therat abashed, & had the harte throughe perced with the fyry darte of blind Cupide, of the which wounde the anguishe was so excedyng and vehement that nether the study of philosophye, neyther the remembrance of his dere frend Gisippus, who so moche loued and trusted hym, coulde any thynge wythdrawe hym frome that vnkynde appetite, but that of force he muste loue inordinately that lady, whom his sayde frende had determined to mary. Al be it with incredible paynes he kepte his thoughtes secrete, vntyl that he & Gisippus were returned vnto theyr lodginges. Than the myserable Titus, withdrawyng hym as it were to his study all turmented and oppressed with loue, threwe hym selfe on a bed, & there rebukyng his owne moste despiteful vnkindnesse, whiche by the sodeyne syght of a mayden, he had cōspired against his moste dere frende Gisippus against al humanitie & reason cursed his fate or constellatiō, and wished that he had neuer comen to Athenes. And therwith he sent out from the botome of his harte depe and colde syghes, in suche plentie, that it lacked but lytel that his harte ne was ryuen in peces. In dolour & anguishe tossed he him selfe by a certain space but to no mā wold he dyscouer it. But at the laste, the peyne became so intollerable, that wold he or no, he was so inforced

to

to kepe his bed, being for lacke of slep & other naturall sustenance, brought in suche feblenesse, that his legges mought not susteine his body: Gilippus, missyng his dere frende Titus, was moche abasshed, and hearyng that he laye sycke in his bed, hadde forthwith his hart perced with heuinesse, and with al spede came to hym, where he laye. And beholdyng the rosial colour, whiche was wonte to be in his visage, tourne into salowe, the residue pale, his ruddy lyppes wan, & his eyen ledy & holowe, moughte vneth kepe him selfe from wepyng, but to the entent he wolde not dyscomfort his frende Titus, dissimuled his heuinesse, & with a comfortable countenance demanded of Titus, what was the cause of his disease, blamyng hym of vnkyndnesse, that he so longe had sustayned it, without giuyng hym knowlege, that he mought for him haue prouided some remedy, yf any mought haue begoten, thoughe it were with the dyspendyng of al his substance. With which wordes the mortall syghes renewed in Titus, & the salte teares brast out of his eyen, in suche habundaunce, as it had ben a lande floode runnyng downe of a mountayne after a storme. That beholdyng Gylippus, & beyng also resolued into teares, most hartely desyred him, and (as I mought saye) conured him, for the feruente and entier loue that had bene, & yet was betwene them, that he wolde no lenger hide from him his grieke, and that there was

wothynge to hym soo deere or precyous (al-thoughe it were his owne lyfe) that mought restore Titus to helthe, but that he should gladely, and withoute grutchynge employe it. with whyche wordes, obtestations, and teares of Gylippus, Titus constrayned, all blusshynge and ashamed, holdynge downe his heade, brought furthe with greate difficultie his wordes in this wyse.

The wordes of Titus to Gylyppus.

¶ My dere and mooste louyng frende, withdraw your frendly offers, cesse of your courtaisie, refraine your teares and regretynges, take rather your knyfe & slea me here where I lye, or otherwyse take vengeaunce on me, most miserable and false traytour vnto you, and of all other moste worthy to suffre moste shamefull deathe. For where as god of nature, lyke as he hath gyuen to vs similitudes in all the partes of our bodye, so had he conioyned our wylles, studies and appetites together in one, so that betwen men was neuer lyke concorde & loue, as I suppose: And now, notwithstādyng, only with the loke of a woman, those bondes of loue be dissolued, reson oppressed, frendeshyp is excluded, there auayleth no wysedome, no doctrine, no fydelitie or trust: ye your trust is the cause that I haue conspyred agaynste you this treason. Alas Gylippus, what enuious spirite meued you to bryng me with you to her, whom ye haue chosen to be youre wyfe, where I receyued this poyson? I saye Gylyppus, where was

then

than your wysedom, that ye remembred not the fragilitie of our cõmune nature? what neded you to calle me for a wytnesse of your pryuate delytes? Why wolde ye haue me see that, whiche you your selfe could not beholde without rauyshynge of mynde and rational appetite? Alas why forgatte ye, that our myndes and appetites were euer oone? and that also what so ye lyked was euen to me in lyke degree pleasaunt, what wylle ye more? Gilipp? I say, your trust is the cause that I am intrapped. The rayes or beames issuyng from the eyen of her, whom ye haue chosen, with the remembrance of her incomparable vertues, hath thrilled throughoute the myddes of my harte, and in suche wyse brenneth it, that aboue all thynges I desire to be out of this wretched and most vnkynd lyfe, whyche is not worthy the company of so noble and louynge a frende as ye be. And therwith Titus concluded his confessyon, with so profounde and bytter a sygh, receyued with teares, that it seemed, that all his body shoulde be dissolued and relented into salte dropes.

The answere of Gilippus.

¶ But Gilippus, as he were therwith nothyng astonyed or discontented, with an assured countenaunce, and merry regarde, imbrasyng Titus, and kyssyng hym, answered in this wyse: Why Titus is this your only sycknes and grefe, that ye so vnkurteysely haue soo longe conceyled, and wyth moche

haue conceyued it: I knowledge my folye, wherwith ye haue with good ryght imbrayded me, that in shewing to you her, whom I loued, I remembred not the commune astate of our nature, ne the agreablenes, or (as I mought say) the vnitie of our two appetites. Suerly that defaute can be by no reason excused. Wherfore it is onelye I, that haue offended. For who may by ryght proue, that ye haue trespassed, that by the ineuytable stroke of Cupides darte are thus bytterly wounded: Thynke ye me suche a fole or ignorant person, that I knowe not the power of Venus, where she lysteth to shewe her importable violence: Haue not ye well resisted agaynste suche a goddesse, that for my sake haue stryuen with her almost to the deathe: What more loyaltie or trouth can I require of you: Am I of that vertue, that I maye resist agaynst celestiall influence, prordinate by prouidence diuyne: If I soo thoughte, what were my wittes: where were my study so long time spent in noble Philosophy: I confesse to you Titus, I loue that maiden as moche as any wise man mought possible: and toke in her company: more delyte and pleasure than of all the treasure and landes that my father left me, which ye know was ryght abundant. But now I perceyue, that the affection of loue towarde her surmounteth in you aboue mesure, what shal I thinke of a wanton luste, or sodayne appetite in you,

you, whome I haue euer knowen of graue and sadde disposition, inclined alway to honest doctrine, fleinge all vayne daliance and dishonest passetyme? Shall I imagyn to be in you any malice or fraude, sens fro the tender tyme of our chyldehode, I haue alwaye founden in you, my swete frende Titus, suche a conformitie with all my maners, appetites, and desyres, that neuer was seene betwene vs any maner of contention? Nay god forbede, that in the frendshyp of Gisippus and Titus, shulde happen any suspition: or that any fantasy shuld perce my head wherby that honourable loue betweene vs, shulde be the mountenance of a crumme perished. Nay nay Titus, it is, as I haue said the onely prouidence of god: she was by him from the begynnyng prepared to be your lady and wyfe. For suche feruent loue entreth not into the hart of a wyse man and vertuous: but by a diuyne dyspolition: whereat yf I shoulde be discontented or grudge, I shoulde not onely be iniuste to you, withholdynge that from you, whiche is vndoubtedly yours, but also obstinate and repugnaunt agaynst the determination of god, whyche shall neuer be founden in Gisippus. Therfore gentyll frende Titus, dismaye you not at the chaunce of loue but receyue it ioyously with me, that am with you noothynge dyscontented, but meruaylous gladde, more vnkyndenesse kepte from me, than ye haue

ſens it is my happe to fynde for you ſuche a lady, with whome ye ſhall lyue in felicitie, and receyue fruite to the honor and comfort of all your lynage. Here I renounce to you clerely all my title and intereſt, that I nowe haue or mought haue in the fayre mayden. Call to you your pryſtinate courage, waſche cleane your vyſage and eyen thus bywepte, and abandone all heupneſſe, the day appointed for our mariage approcheth: let vs conſulte, howe without difficultie ye may holly atteyne your deſyres. Take hede, this myne aduyſe, ye knowe well, that we two be lyke, that beynge a parte and in one apparayle fewe men doo knowe vs. Alſo ye doo remembre, that the cuſtome is, that not withſtandynge any ceremonye doone at the tyme of the ſpouſayles, the maryage not withſtandyng is not confyrmed, vntyll at nyghte that the huſbande putteth a ryng on the fingar of his wyfe, and vnloſeth her gyrdelle. Therfore I my ſelfe will be preſent with my frendes, and perfourme all the partes of a bryde. And ye ſhall abyde in a place ſecrete, where I ſhall appoint you, vntyl it be nyght. And than ſhall ye quyckly conuey your ſelfe into the maydens chambre: and for the ſimilitude of our perſonages, and of our apparayle, ye ſhall not be eſpied of the women, whiche haue with none of vs any acquayntance, and ſhortly get you to bed, and putte your owne ryng on the maidens fynger, and

vnde

vndo her gyrdell of vyrginitie, and do all o
ther thyng, that shall be to your pleasure Be
nowe of good cheere Titus, and comforte
your selfe with good refections and solace,
that this wanne and pale colour, and your
cheekes meygre and leane, be not the cause of
your discouerynge. I knowe wel, that ye has
tynge your purpose, I shall be in obloquie
and derysion of all men, and so hated of all
my kynred, that they shal seke occasion to ex-
pulse me out of this citie, thynkyng me to be
a notable reprouche to all my fammily. But let
god therin warke. I force not what peyne
that I abyde, soo that ye my frende Titus
may be sauke, and pleasantly enioy your de-
syres, to the increasynge of your felicitie.

¶ With these wordes Titus beganne to
meue, as it were out of a dreame, and doub-
tynge whether he harde Gisippus speake, or
elles sawe but a vysyon, laye styll as a man
abasshed. But whan he beheilde the teares,
tryckynge downe by the face of Gisippus,
he than recomforted him, and thanking him
for his incomparable kyndnesse, refused the
benefyte that he offered, sayinge: that it were
better, that a hundred suche vnkynde wret-
ches, as he was, shulde perysshe, than so no-
ble a man, as was Gisippus shulde susteyn
reprouche or damage. But Gisippus eftsoo-
nes comforted Titus, and therewith sware
and protested, that with fre and glad wyll
he wolde that this thynge shulde be in forme

afore

aforesaid accomplished, and therwith imbra-
ced and swetely kysſed Titus. Who perce-
iuynge the matter sure, and not feyned, as a
man not sycke, but onely awaked out of his
slepe, set him selfe vp in his bedde, the quicke
blud somwhat resorted vnto his visage, and
after a lyttel good meates and drinkes take,
he was shortly and in a fewe dayes restored
into his olde facion and figure. To make
the tale shorte. The day of maryage was co-
men. Gisippus accompanied with his alies
and frendes, came to the house of the damo-
sel, where they were honorably and ioyously
feasted. And betwene hym and the mayden
was a swete entertainmēt, which to behold,
all that were present, toke moche pleasure
and comforte, praysyng the beautie, goodly-
nesse, vertue, and curtesy, which in this cou-
ple were excellent aboue all other, that they
had euer sene. What shall I say more? the
couenantes were rad and sealed, the dowar
appoynted, and all other bargaynes conclu-
ded, and the frendes of either part toke their
leaue and departed: the bride, with a few wo
men (as was the custome) brought into her
chambre: thā as it was before agreed, Titus
conueyed him selfe, after Gisippus returned
to his house, or perchance to the chambre ap-
pointed for Titus, nothynge sorowfull, al-
though that he hartily loued the maiden, but
with a glad harte and countenaunce, that he
had so recouered his frende from death, and

so

so well brought hym to the effecte of his desyre. Nowe is Titus in bed with the mayden, not knowen of her, nor of any other, but for Gisippus. And fyrste he sweetely demanded her, if that she loued him, and dayned to take hym for her husbande, forsakyng all other. Whiche she all blusshyng with an eye halfe laughyng, halfe mournynge (as in poynt to depart from her maydenheade, but supposynge it to be Gisippus that asked her) affirmed. And than he eftsones asketh her, yf she in ratifyenge that promyse, woulde receyue his ryng, whiche he had there alredy: wherto she consentyng, putteth the ring on her finger, and vnloseth her girdel. What thyng els he dyd, they two only knewe of it. Of one thynge I am sure, that nyghte was to Titus more comfortable, than euer was the lengest day of the yere, ye and I suppose a hole yere of dayes. The morowe is comen. Gisippus, thynkynge it expedient, that the trouth shuld be discouered, assembled all the nobilitie of the citie at his owne hous, where also by appoyntement was Titus, who amonge theym hadde these wordes, that doo folowe.

The oratio of Titus to Athenienses.

¶ My frendes Athenienses, there is at this tyme shewed amonge you an exaumple, almost incredible, of the diuine powar of honourable loue, to the perpetuall renome and commendation of this noble city of Athenes, wherof ye ought to take excellent comforte, and

and therfore giue due thãkes to god, if there remayne amonge you any token of the auncient wysedome of your moste noble progenitors. For what more prayse may be gyuen to people, than benevolence, faithfulnes, and constance? without whom all contreys and cities be brought vnto desolation and ruine, lyke as by them they becom prosperous, and in moste hygh felicitie. What shall I longer tarye you in conuertynge myne intente and meanynge? Ye all knowe, frome whens I camme vnto this citie, that of auenture I founde in the house of Chremes, his sonne Gilippus, of myne owne age, and in euery thynge so lyke to me, that neyther his father nor any other man coulde discerne of vs the one from the other, but by our own insignement or shewynge: in so moch as there were put about our nerkes laces of sundry colors to declare our personages. What mutuall agrement and loue haue ben alway betwene vs, durynge the eyghte yeres, that we haue bene togither, yf all be wytnesses, that haue ben beholders and wonderers of our moste swete conuersation and consent of appetytes, wherin was neuer any discorde or variance. And as for my parte, after the decesse of my father, nat withstandynge that there was discended and happened vnto me great possessions, fayre houses, with abundaunce of ryches: also I beinge called home by the desyrous and importunate letters of myne

alies

alies and frendes, whiche be of the moſt no-
ble of all the ſenatours, offred the anaunce-
ment to the hyghest dignities in the publyke
weale, I will not remembre the lamentations
of my moſt naturall mother, expreſſed in her
tender letters, all be ſpent and blotted with
abundance of teares, wherin ſhe accuſeth me
of vnkyndneſſe, for my longe taryeng, and
ſpecially nowe in her moſte diſcomfort. But
all this coulde not remoue me the bredth of
my nayle from my dere frend Gilippus. And
but by force could not I, nor yet may be dra-
wen from his ſwete company, but if he ther-
to wylle conſente. I chooſyng rather to lyue
with hym as his companyon and felowe, ye
and as his ſeruaunte, rather than to be con-
ſul of Rome. Thus my kyndnes hath be wel
acquyted (or as I mought ſaye) redoubled,
deliueryng me from the deathe, yea from the
moſte cruel and peyneful death of all other.
I perceiue ye wonder hereat noble Athenien-
ſis, and noo meruayle. For what perſonne
ſhoulde be ſo hardye, to attempte any ſuche
thyng agaynſt me, beyng a Romayne, and of
the noble bloude of the Romaynes? Or who
ſhoulde be thought ſo malicious, to ſlea me,
who (as all ye be my iuges) neuer treſpaſſed
againſt any perſone within this cytie? Nay
nay my frendes, I haue none of you al therin
ſuſpected. I perceyue you deſyre and harken
to knowe, what he was, that preſumed to do
ſo cruel an great an enterpriſe. It was loue,

noble Athenienſis, the ſame loue, whych (as your poetes do remembre) dyde wounde the more parte of all the goddis, that ye doo honour, that cõſtrayned Iupiter to trãſkourme hym ſelfe in a ſwan, a bull, and dyuers other lykeneſſes: the ſame loue that cauſed Hercules, the vaynquyſher and dyſtroyer of Monſters and Giantes, to ſpinne on a rocke, lyttyng among maydens in a womannes appareaile: the ſame loue that cauſed to aſſemble al the noble princes of Aſia and Grece in the fieldes of Troy: the ſame loue I ſay, againſt whoſe aſſaultes may be founde no defence or reſiſtence, hathe ſodaynely and vnware ſtryken me vnto the hart, with ſuche vehemence and myghte, that I had in ſhorte ſpace dyed with moſt feruent tourmentes, hadde not the incomparable frendſhyp of Giſippus holpen me. I ſee, you wolde faine know, who ſhe is, that I loued. I wyl no lenger delay you noble Athenienſis: It is Sophronia, the ladye, whome Gyſippus hadde choſen to haue his wyfe, and whome he mooſte entierly loued. But whan his moſt gentyl harte perceyued, that my loue was in a moche hygher degree than his toward that lady, and that it proceded neyther of wantonnes, neyther of longe conuerſatiõ, nor of any other corrupte deſyre or fantaſye, but in an inſtante, by the oneiye loke, and with ſuch feruence, that immediatly I was ſo cruciate, that I deſyred, and in al that I mought prouoked deth to take me.

He by his wyldom lone geeyued, (as I dout not but that ye do) that it was the very prouision of god, that she shuld be my wyfe, and not his. wherto he gyuyng place, more estemyng true frendshyp, than the loue of a womā, wherunto he was induced by his frendes & not by violence of Cupide constrained as I am, hath wyllyngly graunted to me the interest that he had in the damosell. And it is I Titus, that haue verily wedded her, I haue put the ryng on her fynger, I haue vndoone the gyrdell of shamefastenes. what wylle ye more I haue lyen with her, and confyrmed the Matrimonye, and made her a wyfe.

¶ At these wordes al they that were present began to murmur, and to caste a disdaineous and greuous looke vpon Gisippus. Than spake agayne Titus.

¶ Leaue your grudgynges and menalynge countenaunce, towarde Gisippus, he hathe doone to you all honour, and no deede of reproche. I telle you, he hath accomplyshed all the partes of a Frende: that Loue, whyche was mooste certayne, hathe he continued. He knewe, he moughte fynde in Grece an other mayden, as fayre and as a ryche as this that he had chosen, and one perchaunce, that he moughte loue better. But such a frende, as I was, (hauyng respect to our similitude, the longe approued concorde, also myne astate & condicion) he was sure to fynd neuer none. Also the damosell suffereth no dispergement

in her bloode, or hyndrance in her mariage, but is mocht rather aduaunced (no dispreyse to my dere frende Epiippus). Also consyder noble Atheniens, that I toke her not my father liuyng, whan ye mought haue suspected that as well her rythes as her beautie, shuld haue therto allured me: but soone after my fathers decease, whan I far exceded her in possessions and substaunce, whan the mooste notable men of Rome and of Italy, despred myn alyaunce. Ye haue therfore all cause to reioyse and thanke Gisippus, and not to be angry, and also to extol his wonderful kindnesse toward me, wherby he hath wonne me and all my bloude suche frendes to you and your cytie, that ye maye be assured, to be by vs defended agaynst all the worlde: whyche beyng consydered, Gisippus hath well deserued a statue or ymage of golde, to be set on a pyller, in the myddes of your cittie, for an honorable monumente, in the remembraunce of our incomparable frendeshyp, & of the good that therby maye come to your cytie. But yf this persuasion can not satisfy you, but that ye wyl ymagine any thyng to the damage of my dere frend Gisippus, after my departing I make myne auowe vnto god, creatour of al thyng, that as I shal haue knowlege therof, I shal furthwith resorte hyther, with the inuincible power of the Romaynes, and reuenge him in suche wise against his enmies, that all greece shall speake of it to theyr perpetuall

tuall dishonour, shame, and reproche.

¶ And therwith Titus & Gysippus rooke, but the other for feare of Titus dyssembled theyr malice, making semblaunt, as they had ben with all thyng contented.

¶ Sone after Titus, beyng sent for by the auctoryte of the senat and people of Rome, prepared to departout of Athenes, And wold faine haue had Gysippus to haue gone with him, offryng to deuyde with him all his substance and fortune. But Gisippus, consideryng howe necessarye his counsayle shuld be to the cytie of Athenes wolde not depart out of his coūtray, notwithstandyng that aboue all erthly thynges, he moste desyred the company of Titus: whyche abode alsoo, for the sayde consideration, Titus approued.

¶ Titus with his lady, is departed towardes the cytie of Rome. Where at theyr commynge, they were of the mother of Titus, his kynsemen, and of al the senat and people ioyously receiued And there lyued Tit⁹ with his ladye in ioye inexplicable, and had by her many faire chyldren: and for his wysedome and learnyng was soo hyghely esteemed, that there was noo dignitie or honorable office within the Cytie, that he had not with moch fauour and prayse achyeued and occupied.

¶ But now let vs resorte to Gisippus, who immediately vpon the departyng of Titus, was soo malygned at, as well by his owne kynsemen, as by the frendes of the lady, that

he, to theyr semyng shamefully abãdoned, leauing her to Titus, that they spared not dayly to vexe hym with all kyndes of reproche, that they coulde deuyse or ymagine: and fyrst they excluded hym oute of theyr counsayle, and prohibited from him al honest company. And yet not beynge therewith satisfyed, fynally they adiudged hym vnworthy to enioy any possessions or goodes, left to hym by his parentes, whome he (as they supposed) by his vndeserete frendshyppe hadde so dystayned. Wherfore they dyspoyled hym of all thynges, and almost naked, expelled him out of the cytie. Thus is Gilippus, late welthy, and one of the moste noble men of Athenes, for his kynde harte, banyshed his owne coũtrey for euer, & as man dysmayed, wandring hyther & thyther, fyndyng no man that wold socour him. At the last remembryng in what pleasure his frend Titus lued with his lady, for whom he suffred these damages, cõcluded to go to Rome, and declare his infortune to his sayd frend Titus, what shal nede a long tale: in conclusyon, with moche peyne, colde, hunger, and thurst, he is commen to the cytie of Rome, and diligentely enquirynge for the house of Titus, at the laste he came to it: but beholdyng it so beauteous, large, and pryntely, he was ashamed to approche nygh to it, beynge in soo symple astate and vnklad but standeth by, that in case Titus came forthe out of his hous, he mought present hym selfe

to

to him. He being in this thought, Titus holdyng his lady by the hande, issued out frome his dooze, and takyng theyz hozses to solace them selfe, beheld Gisippus. and beholdynge his vyle apparayle, regarded hym not, but passed furth on theyz waye. wherewith Gisippus was soo wounded to the harte, thynkyng Titus hadde contempned his foztune, that oppressed with mozrall heuines, fell in a swowne. but beynge recouered by some that stode by, thinkyng him to be sycke, furthwith departed, entendyng not to abide any lenger, but as a wyld beast to wander abzode in the wozlde But foz werinesse he was cõstrained to entre into an olde barne, without the citie, where he casting him selfe on the bare grouñd with wepyng & dolozous crpenge bewayled his foztune: But most of all accusyng the ingratitude of Titus, foz whom he suffred all that miserye: the remẽbzance wherof was so intollerable, that he determined no lenger to lyue in that anguysche & dlour. And therwith dzew his knife, purpzsing to haue slaine hym selfe. But euer wysedome (whyche he by the study of Philosophy had attained) withdzew hym frome that desperate acte. And in this contention, betwene wysedome and wyl, fatigate with long iourneys and watche, oz as god wolde haue it, he fell into a depe slepe. His knyfe (wherwith he wolde haue slayne him selfe) falling down by him. In the meane time a commune and notable rufian oz theefe,

whyche hadde robbed and slayn a man: was entred into the barne, where Gylyppus lay: to the entente to sojorne there all that nyght. And seyng Gilippus bewept, and his vilage replenyshed with sorowe, and also the naked knyfe by hym, perceyued well, that he was a man desperate, & suppryzed with heauynesse of harte, was werye of his lyfe: whyche the sayde ruffyan takyng for a good occasyon to escape, toke the knyfe of Gilyppus, and putting it in the wound of him that was slaine, put it all blodye in the hande of Gylyppus, beyng fast a slepe, and so departed. Sone after the deade man beyng founde, the officers made diligent serche for the murderar: at the last they entryng into the barne, and fyndyng Gilippus on slepe, with the blody knyfe in his hande, awaked hym, wherwith he entred agayne into his olde sorowes, complaynyng his yuel fortune. But whan the officers laide vnto hym the deathe of the man, and the hauynge of the blody knyfe, thereat reioyced, thankyng god, that such occasyon was happened, wherby he shoulde suffre deathe by the lawes, and escape the vyolence of his owne handes. Wherfore he denyed nothynge that was layde to his charge, desyryng the officers to make haste that he mought be shortly out of his lyfe. Whereat they meruayled. Sone report came to the senat, that a mā was slayne, and that a straunger, and a Greeke borne, was fōūd in such fourme, as is before

mēn-

mencioned. They forthwith cõmanded hym to be brought vnto theyr presence, syttyng there at that tyme, Tit⁹ beyng than Consul, or in other lyke dignitie. The mysserable Gisippus was brought to the barre, with bylles and staues lyke a felon, of whom it was demaunded, yf he slewe the man, that was founden deade. He nothynge denyed, but in moste sorowfull maner cursed his fortune, namynge hym selfe of all other moste mysserable. At the laste one demaundynge hym, of what countrey he was, he confessed to be an Athenience, and therwith he cast his sorowfull eyen vpon Titus, with moche indignation, and brast out into syghes and teares abundantly: that beholdyng Titus, and espyeng by a lyttell sygne in his vysage, whiche he knewe, that it was his dere frend Gisippus, and anone consyderyng, that he was brought into dispayre by som misaduenture rose out of his place, where he sate, and fallyng on his knees before the Iudges, sayde that he had slayne the man, for olde malyce that he bare towarde hym, and that Gisippus, beynge a straunger, was gyltelesse, and al men mought perceyue, that the other was a desperate persone. Wherefore to abbreuiate his sorowes, he confessed the acte, whereof he was innocent, to thintent that he wold fynysshe his sorowes with deathe. Wherfore Titus desyred the iudges, to gyue sentence on hym, accordyng to his merytes. But Gi-

ſippus, perceyuyng his frende Titus (contrary to his expectation) to offer hym ſelfe to the deathe, for his ſaulfe garde, more importunatly cried to the ſenate to proceede in their iugement on hym, that was the very offender. Titus denied it, and affirmed with reaſons and argumentes, that he was the murderer, and not Giſippus. Thus they of long tyme, with abundance of teares contended, which of them ſhuld dye for the other, wher at all the ſenate and people were wonderly abaſhed, not knowyng what it mente. The murderer in dede, hapned to be in the preaſe at that tyme, who perceyuynge the meruaylous contention of theſe two perſons, which were bothe innocent, and that it proceded of an incõparable frendeſhyp, was vehemently prouoked to diſcouer the trouth. Wherfore he brake through the preaſe, and cõmyng before the ſenate, ſpake in this wyſe:

¶ Noble fathers, I am ſuch a perſon, whõ ye knowe haue ben a cõmune baratour and theefe by a longe ſpace of yeres: ye know alſo, that Titus is of a noble blud, and is approued to be alwaye a man of excellent vertue and wyſedome, and neuer was malycious. This other ſtranger ſemeth to be a mã full of ſimplicite, and that more is, deſperate for ſome greuous ſorowe that he hathe taken, as it is to you euidente. I ſay to you fathers, they bothe be innocent, I am that perſon, that ſlew hym that is founden dead.

by

by the barne, and robbed hym of his money. And whan I founde in the barne this stranger lienge on slepe, hauyng by hym a naked knyfe: I, the better to hyde myn offence, did put the knife into the wound of the dead mā, & so all bluddy laid it agayn by this stranger. This was my mysche uous deuise to escape your iugement. Wherevnto now I remytte me holly, rather thā this noble mā Titus, or this innocent stranger shuld vnworthily die. ¶ Hereat all the Senate, and people toke comforte, and the noise of reioysyng hartes filled all the courte. And whan it was further examined, Gisippus was dyscouered, the frendship betwene hym and Titus was throughe out the citie publysshed, extolled, and magnified. Wherfore the senate consulted of this matter, and fynally at the instāce of Titus and the people, discharged the felon. Titus recogniled his negligence, in forgettynge Gisippus. And Titus beinge aduertised of the exyle of Gisippus, and the dispitefull cruelitie of his kynrede, was therwith wonderfull wrath, and hauyng Gisippus home to his house (where he was with incredible ioy receyued of the lady, whome sometyme he shulde haue wedded) honourably apparayled him: and there Titus offred to hym, to vse all his goodes and possessiōs at his owne pleasure and appetite. But Gisippus, desyrynge to be agayne in his proper countrey, Titus by the consente of the

senate

Senate and people, assembled a great army and wente with Gisippus vnto Athenes, where he hauing delyuered to hym all those, whiche were causers of banyshyng and dispoylynge of his frende Gisippus, dydde on them sharpe execution: and restoryng to Gisippus his landes and substance, stablyshed hym in perpetuall quyetnes, and so retoured to Rome.

¶ This exaumple in the affectes of frendeshyp expresseth (if I be not deceyued) the description of frendshyp, engendred by the similitude of age and personage, augmented by the conformitie of maners and studies, and confyrmed by the longe contynuance of company.

None euyl maye be in frendshyp.

¶ It wolde be remembred, that frendeshyp is betweene good men onely, and is ingendred of an opynion of vertue. Than may we reason in this fourme, A good man is so named, bycause all that he wylleth or dothe, is onely good: in good can be none euyl, therfore noothynge that a good man wylleth or dothe, can be euyll. Lykewyse vertue is the affection of a good man, which neyther willeth nor dothe any thynge that is euyll. And vice is contrary vnto vertue, for in the opynyon of vertue, is neyther euyll nor vyce. And verye amitie is vertue. Wherfore noothynge euyll or vycious may happen in frendshyp. Therfore in the fyrste election of frendes, resteth all the importaunce, wherfore it

wolde

wolde not be without a longe deliberation and proffe, and as Aristotle sayth, in as long tyme as by them bothe, beyng togyther conuersant, a hole busshell of salte mought be eaten. For oftentymes with fortune (as I late sayd) is chaunged, or at the least mynysshed the feruentnesse of that affection accordyng as the swete Poete Ouide affirmeth, sayinge in this sentence, Ethic.

¶ Whyles fortune the fauoureth, frendes thou haste plentie. Ouid. de Pon.
The tyme being troublous thou art al alone
Thou seest culuers haũt houses made white and deyntie.
To the ruynous towre almost cometh none,
Of emotes innumerable vnneth thou fyndest one
In empty barnes, where fayleth substance,
Hapneth no frende, in whome is assurance.

¶ But if any happeneth in euery fortune to be constant in frendshyp, it is to be made of aboue all thynges that may come vnto man, and aboue any other that be of bloudde or kynrede, as Tully sayth. For from kynrede may be taken Beneuolence, from frendshyp it can neuer be seuered. Wherfore Beneuolence taken frome kynrede, yet the name of kynsman remaynyth: take it from frendeshyp, and the name of frendshyppe is vtterly perysshed.

But

How to discerne a frend from a flatterer.

¶ But sens this libertie of speche is nowe vsurped by flatterers, where they perceyue, that assentation and prayses be abhorred: I am therefore not well assured, howe a man nowe a dayes shall knowe or discerne suche admonition from flattery, but by one onely meanes, that is to say, to remēbre that frēdshyp may not be but betwene good mē. Thā consyder, if he that doth admonysshe the, be him selfe voluptuous, ambicious, couetous, arrogant, or dissolute, refuse not his admonition, but by the example of the emperor Antonine, thankfully take it: and amend suche defaut, as thou perceyuest, doth gyue occasion of obloquy in suche maner as the reporter also by thyne example may be corrected. But for that admonicion onely, accompt hym not immediately, to be thy frende, vntyll thou haue of hym a long and sure experience. For vndoutedly it is wonderfull difficile, to finde a man very ambitious or couetous, to be assured in frendshyp. For where fyndest thou hym (sayth Tulli) that wyl not preferre honours, great offices, rule, auctorite, and ryches before frendshyp? Therfore (sayth he) it is very harde to fynde frendshyp in them, that be occupied in acquyryng honour, or about the affayres of the publik weale. Whiche sayinge is proued by dayly experyence. For dysdayne and contempt be companions with ambytion, lyke as enuy and hatrede be also her folowers.

The

¶ The diuision of Ingratitude, and the dyspprayse therof. Cap. xiii.

THe most damnable vice, and moste agaynst iustyce, in myn opinyon, is Ingratitude, commoly called vnkyndenesse. All be it it is in dyuers formes, and of sundry importance, as it is described by Seneca, in this fourme.

¶ He is vnkynde, whiche denyeth to haue receyued any benefitte, that in dede he hath receyued: He is vnkynde, that dissimuleth: he is vnkynde, that recompenseth not: But he is moste vnkynd, that forgetteth. For the other, though they render not agayn kyndenesse, yet they owe it, and there remayneth some steppes or tokens of desertes, inclosed in an vyell conscience, and at the last by some occasion may hap to retourne to yeld agayne thankes, whan eyther shame therto prouoketh them, or sodayne desyre of thynge that is honest, whiche is wont to be for that time in stomakes, though they be corrupted, yf a lyght occasion do moue theym. But he that forgetteth kyndenes, maye neuer be kynde, sens al the benefite is quite fallen from him: And where lacketh remembraunce, there is no hope of any recompence.

¶ In this vyce, men be moche warse than beastes. For dyuers of them wyll remembre a benefyte, longe after they receyued it. The rourler, fyerse and courageous, wyll gladly

Kindnes in beastes.

gladly suffer his keper, that dresseth and kedeth hym, to vaunte hym easyly, and stereth not, but whanne he lysteth to prouoke hym: where yf any other shulde ryde hym, though he were a kynge, he wylle stere and plunge, and endeuour hym selfe to throw hym. Suche kyndenes hath ben founden in dogges, that they haue not onely dyed in defendynge their ma[illegible]rs but also some after their maysters haue died or ben slayne, haue absteyned from meate, and for famyne haue dyed by theyr maysters.

Kindnes in dogges.

¶ Plini remembreth of a dogge, whiche in Epiro (a countrey in Grece) so assaulted the murdrer of his mayster in a great assembly of people, that with barkynge and bytynge he compelled hym at the laste, to confesse his offence.

¶ The dogge also of one Jayson, his mayster beinge slayne, wolde neuer eate meate, but dyed for hunger.

¶ Many semblable tokēs of kyndnes Plini reherseth, but principally one of his own tyme, worthy to be here remembred.

¶ Whan execution shoulde be done on one Titus Habinius and his seruantes, one of them had a dogge, whiche mought neuer be dryuen from the pryson, nor neuer wold departe from his maysters body: and whan it was taken frome the place of execution, the dogge howled moste lamentably, beinge compassed with a greate noumbre of people, of whom

whom whan one of them hadde caste mete to the dogge, he brought and layde it to the mouthe of his maister. And whan the corps was throwen into the ryuer of Tiber, the dogge swamme after it, and as longe as he moughte, inforced him selfe to beare and susteyne it, the people staterynge abrode to beholde the faythfulnesse of the beaste.

¶ Also the Lyon, whiche of all other beastes is accounted mooste fierce and cruelle, hathe ben founden to haue in remembraunce a benefite shewed vnto hym

¶ Aul. Gellius remembreth oute of the hystorye of Appion, howe a lion, oute of whose fote a yong man hadde ones taken a stubbe, and clensed the wounde, whereby he wared hole, after knewe the same maune, beyng cast to hym to be deuoured, and wolde not hurte hym, but lyckynge the legges and handes of the manne, whyche laye dysmayde, lokynge for deathe toke acquayntaunce of hym, and euer after folowed hym, beynge ladde in a smalle lyam, whereat wondred all they that behelde it. Whyche hystorye is wonderfull pleasaunte, but for the lengthe therof I am constrayned to abrege it.

¶ Howe moche be they repugnaunte, and (as I moughte saye ennemies) bothe to nature and reason, whiche beynge aduaunced by anye good fortune, wyll contemne or neglecte such one, whō they haue long knowē, to be to them Beneuolent, and toined to them

in a sincere and assured frendshyppe, approued by infallible tokens, ratifyed also with condiy kyndes of beneficence: I require not suche excellent frendeshyp, as was betwene Pithias and Damō, betwene Horestes and Pilades, or betwene Gilyppus and Titus, of whome I haue before wrytten (for I fyrmely beleue, they shall neuer happen in payres or couples (nor I seeke not for suche as wyll alwaye prefer the honour or profyte of theyr frende before theyr owne, ne (whiche is the leaste parte of frendshyp) for such one as desyrously wyll participate with his frende all his good fortune or substance. But where at this daye maye be founden suche frendeshyppe betwene two, but that yf fortune be more Beneuolent to the one, thā to the other, the frendeshyp waxeth tedious, and he that is aduaunced, desyreth to be matched with one hauyng semblable fortune: And yf anye damage hapeneth to his olde frende, he pytyeth hym, but he sorowyth not, and though he seeme to be sorowfull, yet he helpeth not: and thoughe he wolde be sene to helpe hym, yet trauayleth he not: And though he wolde be sene to trauayle, yet he suffreth not. For (let vs laye a parte assystence with money, whyche is a verye smalle portion of frendeshyp) who wyll so moche esteme frendshyp, that therfore wyll entre into the displeasure, not of his prince, but of them, whom he supposeth may mimische his estimation towardes his

Frendshyp of tyme.

his prince, ye and that moch lesse is, wyl displease his newe acquayntaunce, equall with hym in auctoryte or fortune, for the defence, helpe, or aduauncement of his auncyente and well approued frende? O the mooste miserable astate at this present tyme of mankinde, that for the thyng, whiche is most propre vnto them, the example must be founden among the sauage and fyerce beastes.

¶ The election of frendes, and the diuersitie of flaterers. Cap. xiiii.

A Noble man aboue all thynge oughte to be verye circumspecte, in the election of suche menne, as shuld continually attende vpon his person, at times vacante frome busye affayres, whome he maye vse as his familiars, and saufely committe to thē his secretes. For as Plutarche saith: What so euer he be that loueth, doteth, and is blynde in that thynge, whyche he dothe loue: excepte by learnynge he can accustome hym selfe to ensue and sette more pryce by those thynges, that be honeste and vertuous, than by theym that he seeth in experyence, and be familiarly vsed. And suerly as the wormes doo brede moost gladly in softe wode and swete, soo the mooste gentyll and noble wittes, inclined to honoure, replenished with most honeste and curtayse maners do soonest admytte flaterars, and be by them

Plutarche de cognoscendo amisco ab adulatore.

abuled. And it is no meruayle. For lyke as the wylde corne, beynge in shape and greatnesse lyke to the good, yf they be mengled, with great difficultye wyll be tryed oute, but eyther in a narowe holed seeue they wyll styl abide with the good corne, or elles, where the holes be large, they wyll yssue oute with the other: so flattery from frendshyppe is hardly seuered, for as moche as in euerye motion and affecte of the mynde, they be mutuallye mengled together. Of this peruerse and cursed people be sundrye kyndes: Some apparantely doo flatter, praysyng and extollynge euery thyng that is done by their superiour, and bearyng hym on hande, that in hym it is of euery man commended, whiche of trouthe is of all menne abhorred and hated, to the aspymaunce wherof they adde to othes, adiurations, and horrible curses, offrynge theym selfes to eternall peynes, excepte they report be true. And yf they perceyue anye parte of theyr tale mystrusted, than they sette forthe sodeynely an heupe and sorowefull countenance, as yf they were abiected and brought into extreme desperatiō. Other there be, whiche in a more honest terme may be called Assentatours or folowers, whiche doo awayte diligently, what is fourmethe of the speches gesture of theyr mayster, and also other his maners and facion of garmentes: and to the imitation and resemblaunce therof they applye theyr studye, that for the symilitude of

maners

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¶ The greate Alexaunder bare his heade some parte on the one syde, more than the other, whiche dyuers of his seruauntes dydde counterfayte.

¶ Semblably did the scholers of Plato, the most noble Philosopher, which for as much as theyr mayster had a brode brest, and hygh shulders, & for that cause was named Plato, whiche signifieth brode or large, they stuffed theyr garmentes, and made on theyr shulders greate bolsters, to seme to be of like fourme as he was. Wherby he shuld conceyue some fauour towardes theym, for the demonstration of loue that they pretended in the ostentation of his person. Whiche kind of flatery I suppose Plato coulde ryght well laugh at.

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¶ But these maner of flaterars may be well founde out & perceyued by a good wit, which sometyme by hym selfe diligently considereth his owne qualities & naturall appetite. For the company or communication of a persone familiar, whyche is alwaye pleasaunte and without sharpnes, inclinyng to inordinat fauour and affection, is alway to be suspected. ¶ Also there is in that frende small commoditie, whiche foloweth a manne lyke his shadowe, meuyng onely whan he meueth, & abiding where he list to tary. These be the mortall enemies of noble wyttes, and specially in youth, whan communely they be more inclined to ploy than grauitie. Wherfore that Liberalitie, whyche is on suche flatterers imployed, is not onely perished, but also spilled and deuoured. Wherfore in myne opinion, it were a ryght necessary lawe, that shoulde be made to put such persons openly to tortures, to the fearefull exaumple of other, sens in all princes lawes (as Plutarche sayth) not only he that hath slaine the kynges son and heyre, but also he that counterfayteth his seale, or adulterateth his coyne, with more base metal, shal be iudged to dye as a traitour. In reson how much more peyne (if there were any gretter peyne than death) were he worthy to suffre, that with false adulatiō, doth corrupt and adulterate the gentill & vertuous nature of a noble mā, whiche is not only his image, but the very manne hym selfe: For without vers-

Flatteri-ers pernicions to gentyl nature.

vertue man is but in the numbre of beastes. And also by peruerse instruction and flatery, such one sleeth both the soule & good renome of his master. By whose example & negligēce perisheth also an infinite numbre of persons, whyche domage to a realme neyther with treasure ne with power can be redoubed.

¶ But harde it is, alwaye to eschewe these flatterers, which lyke to crowes, do pyke out mennes eyes er they be ded. And it is to noble men most difficile, whom all men couayte to please, and to displease them it is accounted no wysedome, perchance lest there shulde ensue therby more peryll than profyt.

¶ Also Carneades, the Philosopher, was wonte to saye, that the sonnes of noble men learned nothynge welle but onelye to ryde. For whyles they learned letters theyr mayster flattered theym, praysyng euery worde that they spake. In wrastlyng theyr teachers and companions also flattered theym, submittyng theym selfes, and fallyng downe to theyr fete: But the horse or courser not understandynge who rydeth hym, ne whether he be a gentyll man or yoman, a ryche manne or a poore, yf he syt not surely, and can skyll of rydynge, the horse casteth hym quyckely. This is the sayinge of Carneades.

Plutarch de libe. educandi. A notable exaumple.

¶ There be other of this sorte, whiche more couertly laye theyr snares to take the hartes of princis and noble menne. And as he whiche entendeth to take the fierce and mygthy

Subtyll flatterers. Ex plutarcho de cogn. amico ab adulatore.

lyon, pytcheth his haye or nette in the woods amonge greatte trees and thornes, where as is the mooste haunte of the lyon, that beynge blynded with the thyckenes of the couerte, may er he be ware, sodeynely tumble into the nette: where the hunter seelynge bothe his eyen, and byndynge his legges stronglye together, fynally daunteth his fiercenesse, and maketh hym obediente to his ensygnes and token. Semblablye there be some, that by dyssymulation can ostente or shewe a hyghe grauitie, myrth with a sturdy entertaynement and facion, exilyng them selfes from all pleasure and recreatiō, frownyng and grutchyng at euery thynge, wherin is any myrth or solace, although it be honest, tauntyng and rebukyng immoderatly them, with whom they be not contented, Namyng them selfes therfore plain men, although they do the semblable, & often times wark in theyr owne houses. And by a symplicitie & rudenesse of speakyng, with long deliberatiō vsed in the same, pretende the hygh knowlege of coūsayle to be in them only: & in this wise pitchyng their net of adulation, they intrap the noble and vertuous harte, whiche onely beholdeth theyr fained seueritie and counterfayte wysedom, & the rather byeause this maner of flatery is most vnlike to that, which is cōmunely vsed.

Many frendes necessary for a gouernor.

¶ Aristotell in his polytykes, exorteth gouernours, to haue theyr frendes for a greate numbre of eyen, eares, handes, and legges, con-

consyderyng that no one man may se or here all thynge, that many men may se and here: ne can be in all places, or do as many thynges well at one tyme, as many persons may do. And oftentymes a beholder or loker on, espieth a defaute, that the doer forgetteth or skyppeth ouer: whiche caused the emperor Antonyne to enquyre of many, what other menne spake of hym, correctynge therby his defautes, whyche he perceyued to be iustely reproued.

¶ This I trust shall suffyse, for the expressynge of that incomparable treasure, called amitie: in the declaration whereof, I haue haue abyden the longer, to the intent to perswade the reders, to enserche therfore vigilantly, and beyng so happy to fynde it, accordyng to the sayde description to embrace and honour it, abhorrynge aboue all thynges Ingratitude, whyche pestylence hathe longe tyme raygned amonge vs, augmented by detraction, a corrupt and lothly sinnes, whereof I wyll treate in the laste parte of this warke, that men of good nature, espieng it, nede not, yf they lyste, be therwith deceyued.

Finis libri secundi.

The

THE THYRDE BOKE.

¶ Of the noble and most excellent vertue named Justyce. Cap. i.

THe moste excellent and incomparable vertue, called Justyce, is so necessary and expedient for the gouernour of a publycke weale, that without it, none other vertue maye be commendable, ne wytte or any maner of doctryne profytable, Tullye saythe, At the begynnyng, whan the multytude of people were oppressed by theym that abounded in possessions & substance, they espieng som one, which excelled in vertue and strength, repayred to him: who ministrynge equitie, whan he had defended the poore men from iniury, fynally retained togyther and gouerned the greatest persons with the lasse, in an equal and indifferent order. Wherfore they called that man a kyng, which is as moche to say, as a ruler. And as Aristotle sayth, Justice is not onely a portion or spice of vertue, but is entierly the same vertue. And ther of only (saith Tulli) men be called good mē as who saith, without Justice, all other qualities and vertues can not make a man good ¶ The auncient Cruellians say, Justice is a wyll

Offic. i. Frō whēs the name of a king first proceded.

wyll perpetuall and constaunt, which gyueth to euery man his ryght. In that it is named constaunt, it importeth fortitude: in discernynge what is ryght or wronge, prudence is requyred: And to proportion the sentence or iudgement, in an equalitie, it belongeth to temperance. All these togyther conglutinate and effectually executed, maketh a perfect definition of Justyce.

¶ Justice, although it be but one entier vertue, yet is it described in two kyndes or spiers, the oone is named Justyce distributiue, whiche is in distribution of honour, money, benefite, or other thyng semblable: the other is called commutatiue or by exchaunge. And of Aristotle it is named in Greke Diorthotice, whyche is in englysche correctiue. And that parte of Justyce is conteyned in intermedlynge, and sometyme is voluntary, sometyme in voluntary intermedlynge. Voluntary is byenge or sellyng, loue, suertie, lettyng, and takyng, and all other thyng, wherein is mutuall consent at the beginning: and therfore it is called voluntarye. Intermedlynge inuoluntary, sometyme is pryuily done, as stealynge, auoutrye, poysonynge, falsehead, disceyte, secrete murder, false wytnesse, and periury. Sometyme it is violente, as batry, open murder, and manslaughter, robberye, open reproche, and other lyke. Justyce dystributiue hath regarde to the persone, iustyce commutatiue hathe noo regarde to the

Justice commutatiue.

Diorthotica.

Justice correctiue.

person

perſon, but onely conſyderynge the inequa-litie, wherby the one thynge exc:deth the o-ther, indeuoureth to bryngе theym bothe to an equalitie.

¶ Nowe wyll I retourne agayne to ſpeake fyrſte of Juſtice diſtributiue, leauynge Juſtyce cõmutatiue to an other volume. Which I ſuppoſe ſhall ſucceede this warke, god gy-uynge me tyme and quietneſſe of mynde to perfoꝛme it.

The firſt part of Juſtice diſtributiue. ca. ii.

IT is not to be doubted, but that the fyrſte and pꝛincipal part of Juſtice diſtributiue is, and euer was, to do to god that honoꝛ whiche is due to his diuine maieſty. Which honour (as I befoꝛe ſayde in the fyrſte boke where I wꝛate of the motion called honour in daunſyng) conſyſteth in loue, feare, and reuerence. Foꝛ ſens all men graunte, that Juſtyce is to gyue to euerye man his owne, moche moꝛe to render one good deede foꝛ an other, moſte of all to loue god, of whome we haue all thynges, and withoute hym we were nothyng, and bꝛing peryſhed, we were efteſoones recouered. Howe ought we (to whom is gyuen the very lyght of true faith) to embꝛace this parte of Juſtyce moꝛe, oꝛ at the leaſte no leſſe than the Gentyles, whiche wandꝛynge in the darkenes of ignoꝛaunce, knewe not god as he is, but deuydinge his

maie-

wisely into sundry portions, imagyned Idols of dyuers fourmes and names, and assygned to them particular auctorities, offyces, and dignities. Nat withstandyng, in the honourynge of those goddis, suche as they were, they supposed alwaye to be the chiefe part of Justyce.

¶ Romulus, the fyrste kynge of Romaynes, for his fortune and beneflytes, whyche he ascrybed to his goddes, made to theyr honour great and noble Temples, ordeynynge to them images, sacrifices, and other ceremonyes. And moreouer (whiche is moche to be mervailed at) he also prohybited, that any thynge shulde be redde or spoken, reprochable or blasphemous to god. And therfore he excluded all fables made of the aduoutryes and other enormities, that the Greekes had fayned theyr goddis to haue cõmitted, induxyng his people to speake, and also to cõiecte nothyng of god, but onely that, which was in nature moste excellent, whiche after was also commanded by Plato in the fyrste boke of his publyke weale.

The honor that the gẽtils bare to their gods. Plutarch⁹ in vita Romuli.

¶ Numa Pompilius, the nexte kynge after Romulus, elect by the Senate, although he were a straunger borne, and dwellyng with his father in a lyttell towne of the Sabynes, consyderyng from what astate he came to that dignitie, being a man of excellent wysedome and lernynge, thought he coulde neuer sufficientely honour his goddis for that benefyte

Dionisius halica. li. 2.

nekytte, by whose prouydence he supposed, that he had attayned the gouernaunce of so noble a people and citie. He therfore not only increased within the cytie Temples, aultars, ceremonyes, pryestes, and sundry religyons, but also, with a wonderfull wysedome and polycie, whyche is to longe to be nowe rehersed, broughte all the people of Rome to suche a deuotion, or (as I moughte saye) a superstytion, that where alwaye before, durynge the tyme that Romulus reygned, whyche was .xxxvii. yeres, they euer were contynually occupied in warres and ruyne: By the space of .xlii. yeres (soo longe reygned Numa) they gaue theym all, as it were to an obseruance of relygion, abandonyng warres, and applyenge in suche wyse theyr study to the honourynge of theyr goddis, and increasynge theyr publyke weale, that other people adioynynge, wondrynge at them, and for theyr deuocion haunynge the cytie in reuerence, as it were a palayce of god, al that season neuer attempted any warres agaynste them, or with any hostilitie inuaded theyr cuntrey. Many mo pryncis and noble men of the Romayns coude I reherse who for victories agaynste theyr ennemyes, rayled Temples, and made solempne and sumptuous playes in honour of theyr goddes rendrynge (as it were) vnto theym their duetie, and all wayes accountynge it the fyrste parte of Justyce. And this parte of

Deuotion cause of tranquilitie.

justice

Iustyce towarde god, in honourynge hym with conuenyent ceremonyes, is not to be contemned. Exaumple we haue amonge vs that be mortall. For yf a manne beyng made ryche, and aduaunced by his lorde or mayster, wylle prouyde to receyue hym, a fayre and pleasant lodgynge, hanged with ryche araſſe or tapeſtrye, and with goodly plate, and other thynges neceſſary, moſte freſchely adourned, but after that his maiſter is ones entred, he wyll neuer entertayne or counteraunce hym, but as a ſtranger: ſuppoſe ye, that the beautie and garniſhing of the houſe ſhal only content hym, but that he wyl thinke that his ſeruaunt broughte hym thyther only for vayngloxy, and as a beholder and wonderer at the rychelle that he hym ſelfe gaue hym, which the other vnthankfully doth attribute to his own fortune or policy? Moch rather is that ſeruant to be cõmended, whyche hauyng a lyttell rewarde of his mayſter, wyll in a ſmall cotage make hym harty cheere with moche humble reuerence.

¶ Yet wolde I not be noted, that I wolde ſeme ſo moche to extoll reuerence by it ſelfe, that churches and other ornamentes dedycate to god, ſhoulde be therfore contemned. For vndoubtedly ſuche thynges be not onely commendable, but alſo expedyent for the augmentation and contynuing of reuerence. For be it eyther after the oppnion of Plato, that all this worlde is the Temple of god, or that

Churches materiall and ornaments

that man is the same temple, these materiall churches, where vnto repaireth the congregation of christen people, in the which is the corporall presence of the sonne of god, and very god, ought to be lyke to the sayde temple, pure, cleane, and well adourned, that is to saye, that as the heauyn visible is mooste pleasauntly garnysshed with planettes and sterres, resplendyshyng in the most pure firmament of asure colour, the earthe furnisshed with trees, herbes, and flowres of dyuers colours, facions, and sauours, beastis, fowles, and fysshes of sundry kyndes: semblably the sowle of man, of his owne kynde beinge incorruptible, nete, and clere, the sences and powars wonderfull and pleasaunt, the vertues in it conteyned noble and ryche, the fourme excellent and royal, as that, whiche was made to the similitude of god. Moreouer, the body of man is of all other mortal creatures in proporcion and figure most perfect and elegant. What peruerse or froward opinyon were it to thynke, that god, syth beinge the same god, that he euer was, wolde haue his maiestye nowe contemned, or be in lesse estimation? but rather more honoured for the benefyttes of his glorious passyon, whyche may be well perceyued, who so perceyueth the holy hystorye of the Euangelistes, where he shall fynd in order, that he desyred cleannesse and honour.

¶ Fyrste in preparation of his commynge, whyche

whych was by the waschyng and clensyng of all the bodye of man by baptisme in water, the soule also made clene by penaūce, the election of the most pure and clene virgine to be his mother, and she also of the lyne of princes most noble and vertuous.

¶ It pleased hym moche, that Mary humbly kneled at his feete, and walshed theym with precious balme, and wyped them with her heare.

¶ In his glorious transfiguration, his visage shone lyke the sonne, and his garmentes were wonderfull whyte, and more pure (as the Euangelyst sayethe) than any warkeman coulde make them.

¶ Also at his commynge to Jerusalem, towarde his passyon, he wolde than be receyued with greate routes of people, who laying theyr garmentes on the way as he rode, other castynge bowes abrode, wente before hym in fourme of a triumphe. All this honour wolde he haue before his resurrection, when he was in the fourme of humylitie.

Than howe moche honour is due to hym nowe, that al power is gyuen to him, as wel in heuen as in earthe, and beyng glorifyed of his father, sytteth on his ryghte hande, iudgyng all the worlde.

¶ In readynge the bible menne shall fynde, that the infinite numbre of the sturdye harted Jewes coulde neuer haue ben governed by any wysedome, yf they had not benne byr-

Ceremonies.

dcled with ceremonies.

¶ The superstition of the gentiles, preser-ued often tymes as well the Greekes as the Romaines frome finall destruction. But we wyl laye all those histories a parte, and come to our owne experience.

¶ For what purpose was it ordeyned, that christen kynges (all thoughe they by inheri-taunce succeded theyr progenitours kynges) shoulde in an open and stately place before al theyr subiectes, receyue theyr crowne and o-ther Regalities: but that by reason of the ho-nourable circumstaunces than vsed, shoulde be impressed in the hartes of the beholders perpetual reuerence: which (as I before said) is fountayne of obedience, or elles moughte the kynges be enoynted and receyue theyr charge in a place secrete, with lesse peyne to theym, and also theyr ministers.

¶ Lette it be alsoo consydered, that we be menne and not aungels: wherfore we knowe nothyng but by outward signification, Ho-nour, wherto reuerence perteyneth, is (as I haue sayde) the rewarde of vertue, whiche honour is the estimation of people, whiche estimation is not euery where perceiu-d, but by some exterior signe, and that is eyther by laudable reporte, or excellencye in vesture, or other thyng semblable. But reporte is not so commune a token, as apparayle. For in olde tyme kynges ware crownes of golde, and knyghtes onely ware chaynes.

Also

¶ Alſoo the mooſte noble of the Romaynes ware ſondry garlondes, wherby was perceiued theyr merite. O creatures mooſte vnkynde, and barrayne of Juſtice, that wyl deny that thynge to theyr god and creatour, whyche of very duetie and right is gyuen to him by good reaſon aboue all pryncis, whiche in a degree incomparable be his ſubiectes and vaſſals, by whyche opinion they ſeme to deſpoyle hym of reuerence, whiche ſhal cauſe all obedience to ceſſe, wherof wyll enſue vtter confuſion, if good chriſten prynces, mcued with zeale, do not ſhortly prouide to extincte vtterly all ſuche opinions.

¶ The thre noble counſayles of reaſon, ſocietie, and knowlege. Cap. iii.

VErely the knowlege of Juſtice is not ſo difficile or hard to be attained vnto by man, as it is communely ſuppoſed, if he wold not wyllyngely abandone the excellẽcie of his propre nature, & foliſhely applicat him ſelfe to the nature of creatures vnreaſonable, in the ſtede of Reſon embrayſyng ſenſualitie, and for Societe and Beneuolence, folowyng wylfulneſſe and malice, and for knowlege, blynde ignorance and forgetfulnes. Vndoubtedly reſon, ſocietie called companye, and knowlege remaynynge, Juſtice is at hande, and as ſhe were called for, toyneth her ſelfe to that company, whyche by her

Counſayloures of Juſtice.

felowshyp is made inseparable, wherby happeneth (as I mought say) a vertuous and most blessed conspiracye. And in theyr shorte preceptes and aduertisementes, man is perswaded to receyue and honoure iustice. Reason bedyng him: Do the same thyng to an other, that thou woldest haue done to the. Societie, without which mans lyfe is vnpleasant and ful of anguysshe, saith: Loue thou thy neyghboure, as thou doest thy selfe. And that sentence or precepte came frō heuen, whan Societie was fyrste ordeyned of god, and is of suche auctoritie, that the onely sonne of god, beyng demaunded of a doctour of law, whyche is the great commaundement in the lawe of god, answered: Thou shalt loue thy lorde god with al thy hart, and in al thy soule, and in all thy mynde, that is the fyrste and great commaundement. The seconde is lyke to the same, Thou shalt loue thy neyghbour as thy selfe. In these two commandementes do depende all the lawe and prophetes. Beholde howe our sauiour Christe toyneth Beneuolence with the loue of god, and not onely maketh it the seconde precepte, but also resembleth it vnto the fyrste.

Matt. xx.

Knowlege. ¶ Knowlege also as a perfect instructrice and maistresse, in a more briefe sentence than yet hath benne spoken, declareth, by what meane the sayde preceptes of reason and societie maye be well vnderstande, and therby Iustice finally executed. The wordes in these

in latine, Noſce te ipſum, whyche is in engliſhe, knowe thy ſelfe. This ſentence is of olde wrytars ſuppoſed for to be fyrſte ſpoken by Chilo or ſome other of the ſeuen auncient Grekes, called in latine Sapientes, in engliſhe ſage or wyſe men. Other do accommodate it to Apollo, whom the paynimes honoured for god of wyſedome. But to ſay the trouthe, were it Apollo that ſpake it, or Chilo, or any other, ſuerly it proceded of god, as an excellente and wonderfull ſentence. By this counſayle, manne is induced to vnderſtande the other two preceptes, & alſo therby is accomplyſhed not onely the ſeconde parte, but alſo the reſidue of Juſtice, whyche I before haue reherſed. For a man knowyng him ſelfe, ſhall knowe that whyche is his owne, & perteyneth to him ſelfe. But what is more his owne, than his ſoule? Or what thynge more apperteyneth to hym, than his bodye? His ſoule is vndoubtedly and freely his owne And none other perſonne may by any meane poſſeſſe it or clayme it. His body ſoo perteyneth vnto hym, that none other, without his conſent, maye vendicat therin any propretie. Of what valour or price his ſoule is, the ſymilitude, wherunto it was made, the immortalitie, and lyke euerlaſtyng, and the powars and qualities therof, abundantly do declare And of that ſame matter and ſubſtance that his ſoule is of, be all other ſoules, that nowe

That this ſentēce noſce te ipſū. knowe thy ſelfe, induceth to the veri knowlege of Juſtyce.

The equalitie in ſoules and corporall ſubſtaunce.

are, and haue ben, and euer shall be, without singularitie or preemynence, of nature. In semblable astate is his body, and of no better claye (as I mought frankely saye) is a gentyll manne made, than a carter, and of lybertie of wyll, as moche is gyuen of god to the poore herdeman, as to the great and myghty Emperour. Than in knowing the condicion of his soule and body, he knoweth him selfe, and consequently in the same thynge he knoweth euery other man.

Knowlege of a gouernour.

¶ If thou be a gouernour, or haste ouer other souerayntie, knowe thy selfe. That is to saye, knowe that thou arte verely a man, compacte of soule and bodye, and in that all other men be equall vnto the. Also that euery manne taketh with the, equall benefite of the spirite of lyfe, nor thou hast any more of the dew of heuen, or the bryghtnes of the sonne, than any other persone. Thy dignitie or auctoritie: wherin thou only differest frō other, is (as it were) but a weyghty or heuy clothe, freshly glitteryng in the eyen of theym that be poreblinde, whervnto the, it is peynefull, yf thou weare hym in his ryght facyon, and as it shall best becomē the: And from the it may be shortly taken, of hym that dyd put it on the, yf thou vse it negligentely, or that thou weare it not comely, and as it apperteyneth. Therfore whyles thou wearest it, knowe thy selfe, knowe that the name of a souerayne or ruler, without actual gouernance, is but a

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shadowe, that gouernaunce standeth not by wordes only, but principally by acte & exaumple, that by exaumple of gouernours men do eyle or fal in vertue or vice. And as it is sayd of Aristotel, rulers more greuously do sinne, by example than by theyr acte. And the more they haue vnder theyr gouernance, the greatter accounte haue they to rendre. That in theyr owne preceptes and ordynaunces they be not founde negligent. Wherfore there is a noble aduertisement of the emperour Alexãder, for his grauitie called Seuerus.

¶ On a time, one of his noble men exhorted hym to doo a thyng, contrary to a lawe or edicte, whyche he hym selfe had enacted: But he fyrmely denied it. The other stylle persistyng, sayde, The emperour is not bounden to obserue his owne lawes. Whervnto the sarde emperour displeasauntely answeryng, said in this maner, God forbede, that euer I shoulde deuyse any lawes, wherby my people shoulde be compelled to doo any thynge, whyche I my selfe can not tollerate. Lãpridius.

¶ Wherfore ye that haue any gouernance, by this mooste noble princis example knowe the boundes of your auctorytie, knowe also your office and duetie, beynge youre selfes men mortall, among menne, and instructours and leaders of men. And that as obedience is due vnto you, so is your study your labour, your industry with vertuous example, dewe to theym that be subiecte to your auctoritie.

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¶ On a time, one of his noble men exhorted hym to doo a thyng, contrary to a lawe or edicte, whyche he hym selfe had enacted: But he flymely denied it. The other stylle persistyng, sayde, The emperour is not bounden to obserue his owne lawes. Whervnto the saide emperour displeasauntely answeryng, said in this maner, God forbede, that euer I shoulde deuyse any lawes, wherby my people shoulde be compelled to doo any thynge, whyche I my selfe can not tollerate. Lãpridius.

¶ Wherfore ye that haue any gouernance, by this mooste noble princis example knowe the boundes of your auctorytie, knowe also your office and duetie, beynge youre selfes men mortall, among menne, and instructours and leaders of men. And that as obedience is due vnto you, so is your study your labour, your industry with vertuous example, dewe to theym that be subiecte to your auctoritie.

Ye shal knowe alway your selfe, yf for affection or motion ye do speake or do nothynge vnworthy the immortalitie & moste precious nature of your soule, and remembryng that your bodye is subiecte to corruption, as all other be, and lyke tyme vncertayn. If ye forget not this commune estate, and do also remembre, that in nothyng but onely in vertue ye are better than an other inferiour person.

Agesilaus. Accordyng to the saying of Agesilaus, kyng of Lacedemones, who heryng the great kyng of Persia praysed, asked howe moche that great kyng was more than he in iustice. And

Socrates. Socrates, beyng demanded, yf the kynge of Persia semed to hym happy: I can not tell (sayd he) of what estimation he is in vertue and learnyng. Consider also, that auctoritie beyng wel and diligently vsed, is but a token of superioritie, but in very dede it is a burden and losse of a libertie.

¶ And what gouernor in this wise knoweth him selfe, he shal also by the same rule know al other men, & shal nedes loue them, for whō he taketh labours, and forsaketh libertie.

Knowlege of subiectes ¶ In semblable maner, the inferiour person or subiecte ought to consyder, that all be it (as I haue spoken) he in the substaunce of soule and body, is equall with his superyor: Yet for as moche as the powers & qualities of the soule and body, with the dispositiō of reason, be not in euery manne equal, & therfore god ordeyned a diuersytie or preeminence in

degrees

degrees to be amonge men, for the necessary direction and preseruation of theym in conformitie of lyuynge. Wherof nature mynistreth to vs examples abundantly, as in bees (whereof I haue before spoken in the fyrste boke) cranes, redde deere, wolues, and dyuers other fowles and beastes, whyche herdeth or flocketh, amonge whome is a gouernour or leader, towarde whom all the other haue a vigilant eye, awaytyng his signes or tokens, and accordynge thereto repayrynge them selfe moste diligently. If we thynke, that this naturall instinction of creatures vnreasonable, is necessary and also cõmendable, howe farre out of reason shal we iudge them to be, that wolde exterminate all superiorite, extincte all gouernaunce and lawes, and vnder the colour of holy scripture, whiche they do violently wraste to theyr purpose endeuour theym selues, to bryngе the lyfe of man into a confusion inexitable, and to be in moche warse astate, than the afore named beastes. Yens withoute gouernaunce and lawes, the persones moste stronge in body, shulde by violence constrayne theym that be of lesse strength and weaker, to labouре as bondemen or slaues for theyr sustynaunce and other necessaries, the stronge men being withoute labour or care. Than were all our equalitie dashed, and fynally as beastes sauage, one shall desyre to slea an other. I omit contynuall manslaughters, rauisshementes,

The necessitie that is in gouernance.

aduoutries, and enormyties horryble to re-herse, whiche (gouernaunce lackynge) muste nedes of necessitie ensue: excepte these euangelicall persons coulde perswade god, or cõpelle hym to chaunge men into aungels, makynge theym all of one disposition, & conformyng thẽ all in one forme of charitie. And as cõcerning all mẽ in a generalitie this sentẽce, Know thy selfe, which of al other is most cõpendious, being made but of thre wordes, euery worde beinge but one syllable, inducethmen sufficiently to the knowlege of Justice.

¶ Of fraude and dysceyte, whiche be agaynst iustyce. Cap. iiii.

Cí. off. i. The excellency of iustyce.

TVlly sayth, that the foundation of perpetuall prayse and renome, is Justice, without the whyche nothyng may be commendable. Whiche sentence is verifyed by experience. For be a man neuer so valyaunt, so wyse, so lyberall or plentuous, soo familyar or courtayse, yf he be seene to exercyse iniustyce or wronge, it is often remembred: But the other vertues be seldom rekened, without an exception, whiche is in this maner. As in prayslyng a man for some good qualitie, where he lacketh Justice, men wyll cõmonly say: He is an honorable man, a bouteous mã, a wise man, a valiant man, sauing that he is an oppressour, an extortioner, or is deceytfull, or of his promise vnsure. But yf he

he be iuſt, with the other vertues, than is it ſayd, he is good and worſhypfull, or he is a good man and an honourable, good and gentyll, or good and hardy. ſo that Juſtice only, beareth the name of good, and lyke a cappytayne or leader precedeth all vertues in euery commendation.

¶ But where as the ſayd Tully ſayth, that iniury, whiche is contrary to Juſtice, is done by two meanes, that is to ſay, eyther by violẽce or by fraude, fraude ſemith to be properly of the foxe, violence, or foxe of the lyon, the one and the other be far frõ the nature of mã but fraude is worthy moſt to be hated. That maner of iniury, which is done with fraude & diſceyt, is at this preſent tyme ſo commonly practiſed, that if it be but a litteil, it is called polycy, and if it be moche, and with a viſage of grauitie, it is than named and accounted wyſedome. And of thoſe wiſe men ſpeaketh Tulli, ſaying: Of all iniuſtice, none is more capital than of thoſe perſons, that whã they diſceiue a man moſt, do it, as they wold ſeme to be good men. And Plato ſaithe, It is extreme iniuſtice, one to ſeme righto⁹, which in dede is vniuſt. Of thoſe. ii. maner of fraudes wil I ſeuerally ſpeke. But firſt wyl I declare the moſt miſcheuous importãce of this kynd of iniury in a generalite. Lyke as the phiſitions call thoſe diſeſes moſt perillous, againſt whõ is koũdẽ no pſeruatiue, a ones entred, be ſeldom or neuer recouered: Semblably thoſe

Iniury by two meanes wone.

Fraude & diſceyte.

Plato de repub. li.

iniu-

iniuries be moste to be feared, agaynste the whiche can be made no resistence, and being taken, with greatte difficultie or neuer they can be redressed.

¶ Iniury apparant and with power inforced, eyther may be with lyke power resisted, or with wysedome eschued, or with entreaty refrayned. But where it is by crafty engyne imagined, subtilly prepared, couertely dissembled, and disceytefullye practysed, suerly no man may by strength withstand it, or by wysedome escape it, or by any other maner of meane resyste or auoyde it. Wherfore of all iniuries, that whiche is done by fraude, is moste horryble and detestable, not in the opinion of man onely, but also in the syght and iudgement of god. For vnto hym nothynge may be acceptable, wherin lacketh veritie, called commonly truth, he hym selfe beinge all veritie: and all thynge conteyning vntruth, is to him contrarious and aduerse. And the deuyl is called a lyar, and the father of lealynges. Wherfore all thyng, which in vysage or apparance pretendeth to be any other thā verily it is, may be named a lealing, the execution whereof is fraude, whiche is in effecte but vntrouthe, ennemy to truthe, and consequently ennemy to god. For fraude is, (as experience teacheth vs) an yuell disceite, craftily imagined and diuised, whiche vnder a colour of truthe and simplicitie, indomageth hym that nothynge misteusteth. And by

cause

cause it is cupll, it can by no meanes be lefull. Wherfore it is repugnant vnto iustice.

¶ The Neapolitanes, and Nolanes (people in Italy) contended togyther for the lymites and boundes of theyr landes and fyeldes. And for the discussyng of that controuersye, eyther of them sente theyr ambassadours to the senate and people of Rome (in whom at that tyme was thought to be the most excellent knowledge and execution of iustyce) desyryng of them an indifferent arbitrour, and suche as was substancially learned in the lawes Liuile, to determyne the varyance, that was betweene the two cyties: compromyttynge theym selfes in the name of all theyr countrey, to abyde and perfourme all suche sentence and awarde, as shoulde be by hym gyuen. The senate appoynted for that purpose oone named Quintus Fabius Labeo, whom they accounted to be a man of greate wysedome and lernynge. Fabius, after that he was come to the place, which was in controuersye, he separatynge the oone people from the other, communed with them both apart, exhortynge the one and the other, that they wolde not do or desyre any thynge with a couetous mynde, but in treadynge oute of theyr boundes, rather go shorte therof than ouer. They, doyng accordynge to his exhortation, left betwene both companies a great quantitie of grounde, whiche at this day we call batable. That perceyuynge Fabius assigned

The fraude of an arbitrour.

signed to euery of them the boũdes that they them selues had appoynted. And al that lãde whiche was left in the myddes, he adiudged to the Senate and people of Rome. That maner of dealyng (sayth Tulli) is to deceyue and not to gyue iudgement. And veryly euery good mã wyl thinke, that this lacke of iustice in Fabius, being a noble man & well lerned, was a great reproche to his honour.

Fraude in cõfederacy.

¶ It was a notable rebuke vnto the Israelites, that whan they beslieged the Gabaonites (a people of Chanani) they in conclusion receiued them into a perpetual leage. But after the Gabaonites hadde yelded them, the Iewes perceyuing they were restrayned by theyr othe to slea theym, or cruelly entreate them, made of the Gabaonites, being theyr confederates, theyr skullyons and drudges, wherwith almyghty god was nothyng contented. For the leage or truce, wherin frendshyppe and lybertie was intended (whyche caused the Gabaonites to be yolden) was not duly obserued, which was clerely against Justyce.

Simplicitie in couenãt pmyse

¶ Truely in euery couenant, bargayne, or promyse, ought to be a symplycite, that is to saye, one playne vnderstandynge or meanynge betwene the partes: And that symplicitie is properly Justyce. And where any man of a couetous or malicious mynde wyll dygresse purposely from that symplicitie, takynge aduauntage of a sentence or worde,

which

whiche mought be ambiguous or wubtfull, or in some thynge eyther superfluous or lacke hynge in the bargayne or promyse, where he certaynely knoweth the trouthe to be otherwise: this in myn opinió is damnable fraude being as playne agaynst iustice, as if it were enforced by violence.

¶ Fynally, all disceyte and dissimulation, in the opynyon of them, whiche exactly honour Justyce, is nere to dispraysle than commendation, although therof mought ensue some thynge good. For in vertue may be nothyng fucate or counterfayte: But therin is onely the ymage of veritie, called Symplicitie.

Wherfore Tullie, beinge of the opinion of Antipater the phylosopher sayethe: To concele any thynge, whyche thou knoweste, to the intente that for thyne owne profyte thou woldest an other, who shal take any damage or benefyte therby, shulde not knowe it, is not the act of a persone playne or symple, or of a man honest, iuste, or good: but rather of a person crafty, vngentyll, subtylle, deceytfull, malicious, and wyly.

¶ And after he sayethe, Reason requyreth, that nothyng be done by treason, nothing by dissimulation, nothing by disceite. Which he excellently (as he dothe all thyng) afterward in a bricke conclusyon proueth, sayinge: Nature is the fountayne, wherof the lawe spryngeth, and it is accordynge to nature, no man to do that, wherby he shuld take (as it were)

a pray

a pray of an other mans ignorance.

¶ Of this matter Tully writeth many pre pre.exaumples and quycke solutions. But now here I make an ende to write any more at this tyme of fraude, which by no meanes may be ioyned to the vertue named iustice.

¶ That Iustice ought to be betwene ennemies. Cap. v.

Suche is the excellency of this vertue iustice, that the practise therof hathe not onely optayned digne commendation of suche persones, betwene whome hathe bene mortall hostilitie, but also oftentymes, hathe extincte the same hostilitie. And the fiers hartes of mutuall ennemies hath ben therby rather subdued, than by armure or strength of people: as it shal appere by exaumples ensuing

Treason hated of ennemies.

¶ Whan the valiant kynge Pyrrhus warred moste asprely against the Romayns, one Timochares, whose sonne was yeoman for the mouthe with the kyng, promysed to Fabricius, than being consul, to slea kyng Pyrrus: which thig being to the senate reported, by theyr amballade, warned the kynge to be ware of such maner of treason, saying: The Romaynes mayntayned theyr warres with armes, and not with poyson. And yet not withstandyng they discouered not the name of Timochares, so that they embraced equitie as wel in that they slewe not theyr enemy

by

by treason, as also that they betrayed not hym, whyche purposed them kyndnes.

¶ In so moche was Justice of olde tyme esteemed, that without it none acte was alowed, were it neuer so noble or profytable.

Honestye preferred before cõmoditie.

¶ What time Xerxes, king of Persis, with his army was expulsed out of Grece, all the nauye of Lacedemonia laye at rode in an hauen, called Gytheum, within the dominion of the Athenienses. Themistocles, oone of the princes of Athenes, a moche noble capitaine, sayd vnto the people, that he hadde aduysed hym selfe of an excellente counsayle, where vnto yf fortune incyned, nothynge moughte more augmente the power of Athenienses. But it ought not to be diuulgat or published. He therfore desyred to haue one appoynted vnto hym, to whom he moughte secretely discouer the enterpryse. Where vpon there was assigned to hym oone Aristides, who for his vertue was surnamed ryghtwyse. Themistocles declared to him, that his purpose was to put fire in the nauy of Lacedemones, whiche lay at Gytheum, to thentent that it being brenned, the dominion, and hole power ouer the sea, shoulde be onely in the Athenienses. This deuyse hearde and perceyued, Aristides commyng before the people, sayde: The counsayle of Themistocles was very profytable, but the enterpryse was dishoneste and agaynste iustice. The people hearynge that the acte was not honeste or iuste, cryed with

one voice, Not yet expedient. And furthwith they commaunded Themistocles, to cesse his enterprise. Wherby this noble people declared, that in euery acte, speciall regarde, and aboue all thynge, consideration ought to be had of Justice and Honestie.

¶ Of faythe or fidelitie, called in latine Fides, whiche is the foundation of Justice. Capi. vi.

That whiche in latine is called Fides, is a part of Justice, and may diuersely be interpreted: and yet finally tendeth to one purpose in effecte. Some tyme it may be called faith, some time credence, other wyles trust. Also in a frenche terme it is named loyaltie. And to the imitation of latine, it is called often Fidelitie. Al which wordes, yf they be entierly, and (as I mought say) exactely vnderstanden, shall appere to a studious reder, to signifye one vertue or qualitie, although they seme to haue some diuersitie. As beleuyng the preceptes and promyse of god, it is called faythe. In contractes betwene manne and man, it is communely called credence. Betwene persones of equall astate or condition, it is named truste. Fro the subiecte or seruaunte to his souerayne or mayster, it is propicly named fidelitie, and in a frenche terme loyaltie.

¶ Wherfore to hym, that shall eyther speke

or wryte, the place is diligently to be obserued, where the proper signification of the word may be best expressed. Conslideryng (as Plato sayth) that the name of euery thyng is none other, but the vertue or effecte of the same thynge, conceyued kyndle in the mynde, and than by the voyce expressed, and finally in letters signified.

Plato in Cratylo.

¶ But nowe to speake in what estimation this vertue was of olde tyme amonge gentiles, whych now (alas to the lamentable reproche, and perpetual infamy of this present time) is so neglected throughout christendom, that neyther regarde of religion or honoure, solemne othes or terrible cursis, can cause it to be obserued. And that I am moche ashamed to wryte, but that I muste nedes nowe remembre it: Neyther seales of armes, signe manuels, subscription, nor other specialties, ye vneth a multitude of wytnesses be nowe sufficiente, to the obseruyng of promyses. O what publyke weale shulde we hope to haue there, where lacketh fidelity: which as Tulli sayth, is the foundation of Justice. What meruayle is it, thoughe there be in all places contention infinite, and that good lawes be tourned into Sophemes & insolubles, sens euery where fidelitie is constrayned to come in triall and credence (as I mought saye) is become a vagabunde:

Fayth neglected.

¶ To Josue, whyche succeded Moyses in the gouernaunce and leadyng of the Jewes,

almighty god gaue in commandement to ſle as many as he ſhoulde happen to take of the people, called Cananees. There hapned to be nyghe to Jeruſalē a countreye, called Gabaon, and in deede the people therof were Cananees, who hearyng of the precepte gyuen to Joſue, as menne (as it ſemed) of greatte wyſedom, ſente an ambaſſade to Joſue, whiche approched theyr countrey, ſaying: They were ferre diſtaunt from the Cananees, and deſyred to be in perpetuall leage with hym and his people. And to dyſſemble the length of theyr iournay, as theyr countrey had ben ferre thens, they hadde on theym olde worne garmentes, and torne ſhone. Joſue ſuppoſing all to be trew that they ſpake, cōcluded peace with theym, and confyrmed the leage, and with a ſolempne othe ratifyed bothe the one and the other. Afterwarde it was dyſcouered, that they were Cananees, whiche if Joſue hadde knowen before the leage made, he hade not ſpared any of theym. But when he reuolued in his mind, the ſolempne othe that he hadde made, and the honour, whiche conſiſted in his promiſe: he preſumed, that faith beyng obſerued vnperyſhed, ſhulde pleaſe almyghty god aboue all thynges, whyche was than proued. For it appereth not, that god euer dyd ſoo moche as in any wyſe inbrayed hym for breakyng of his commaundement.

Of what autorite ſtipelitie is.

Cananees preſerued by Joſue.

¶ By this exaumple appereth, in what eſtimation and reuerence, leages, and truces made

made by prynces, oughte to be hadde, to the
breache wherof none excuse is sufficient. But
lette vs leaue pryncis affayres to their coun-
saylours. And I wyll now write of the par-
tes of Fidelitie, which be more frequent and
accustomed to be spoken of. And fyrst of loy- Trust and
altie and trust, and laste of Credence, which fidelitie.
principally resteth in promyse.

¶ In the moste renoumed warres, betwene The loyal-
the Romaynes and Annibal, duke of Car- ty of Sa-
thaginensis, a noble citie of Spayne, called guntines.
Saguntum, which was in amitie and leage Titus Li-
with the Romaynes, was by the said Anni- uius.
ball strongely besieged, in so moche as they Valerius
were restrayned from victayle and all other maximus.
sustenance. Of the which necessitie, by theyr
priuy messages they ascertained the Roma-
nes. But they being busied about the prepa-
rations for the defence of Italy, and also of
the citie, agaynste the intollerable power of
Annibal, hauing also late, two of theyr moste
valiaunt capitaynes, Publius Scipio, and
Lucius Scipio, with a great hooste of Ro-
mayns, slayne by Annibal in Spayne, de-
ferred to send any spedy succours to the Sa
guntines. But not withstandynge that An-
nibal desyred to haue with them amitie, of-
fering them peace, with theyr citie and goo-
des at lybertie: Consideringe that they were
brought into extreme necessite, lacking vitail
& dispairing to haue succours frō the Roma
nes, Il thinhabitantes, cōfortyng & exhortyng

erhe other to dye, rather than to violate the leage and amitie that they of longe tyme had continued with the Romaynes, by one hole assente, after they hadde made sondry greate piles of woode and other matter to bzenne, they layde in it all theyz goodes & substance, And laste of all, conueyeng them selfes into the sayde piles oz bonefites, with theyz wynes and chyldzen, set all on fyze, & there were bzenned, er Annibal coulde entre the citie.

¶ Semblable loyaltie was in the inhabytantes of Petilia the same tyme, who beyng lyke wyse beseged by Annibal, sent foz socoures to Rome: But foz the great losse, that a lyttell erste the Romaynes hadde susteined at the battayle of Cannas, they coulde in no wyse delyuer them. Wherfoze they discharged them of theyz promise, and licensed them to do that thing, whiche wought be most foz their saufegarde. By whyche answere they semed to be discharged, & lefully mought haue entred into the fauour of Annibal: yet notwithstanding, this noble people, preferryng loyalte before lyfe, puttyng out of their citie theyz women, & al that were of yeres vnable foz the warres that they moughte moze eāsely susteine famine, obstinatly defended their walles, that in the defence they all perysshed. So that whā Annibal was entred, he found, that he toke not the cytie, but rather the sepulchze of the loyall cytie Petilia.

¶ O noble fidelitie, whiche is so moche the

mo⁹

more to be wondred at, that it was not onely in one or a fewe persons, but in thousandes of menne: and they not beyng of the blode or aliaunce of the Romaynes, but straungers, dwellynge in farre countreys from them, beinge onely of gentylle nature and vertuous courage, inclined to loue honour, and to be constaut in theyr assurance.

¶ Nowe wyl I wryte frō hensforth of particular persons, which haue shewed exāples of loyalty, whych I pray god may so cleaue to the mindes of the reders, that they may be alway redy to put the sēblable in experiēce.

The commendation of loyaltie.

¶ Howe moche ought all they, in whom is any portion of gentylle courage, endeuoure them selues, to be alwayes trusty and loyall to theyr soueraygne, who putteth theym in truste, or hath bene to theym beneficiall, as well reason exhorteth, as also sundry examples of noble personages, whyche as compendiously as I can, I wyll nowe bryng to the reders remembraunce.

Faythefulnes in subiectes.

¶ What tyme Saul, for his greuous offences was abandoned of almighty god (whom of a very poore mans sonne, God auaunced to the kyngedom of Israell) and that Dauid being his seruaut, and as pore a mans sonne as he, was elected by god to reygne in Israell, and annoynted kynge by the prophete Samuel, Saul being therfore in a rage, hauing indignatiō at Dauid pursued him with a great hoste to haue slayne hym, who (as

long as he mought) fled, and forbare Saul as his souerain lord. On a time, Dauid was soo inclosed by the armye of Saul, that he mought by no ways escape, but was fayne to byde hym & his men, in a great caue, whiche was wyde and depe in the erthe. During the tyme that he was in the caue, Saul, not knowynge therof, entred into the caue, to do his naturall ealement: whiche the people of Dauid perceiuing, exhorted him to slea Saul hauyng suche opportunitie, sayinge: God had brought his ennemy into his handes, & that Saul beyng slayne, the warre were all at an ende, consyderyng that the people loued better Dauid than Saul. But Dauid, refusing theyr counsaile, sayde: He wolde not lay violent handes on his soueraygne lorde, beyng a kynge enoynted of god: but softely approched to Saul, and cutte of a peace of the nether part of his mantel. And after that Saul was departed oute of the caue towarde his campe, Dauid called after him, saying: Who pursuest thou noble prynce? with other wordes rehersed in the bible, in the fyrste boke of kynges: and than shewed to him the parte of his mantell. Whereat Saul beyng abashed, recognised his vnkyndnesse, callynge Dauid his dere sonne and trusty frende, recommendyng to him his chyldren and progenie, sens by the wyll of god he was elected to succede hym in the kyngedome of Israel. And so departed Saul from Dauid.

Yet

Yet not withstanding, afterward he pur-
sued hym in Gaddy. And in a nyght, whan
Sauls and his army were at reste, and that
Dauid by an espyall, knewe they were all
fast on slepe, toke with hym a certayn of the
most assured and valiant personages of his
hoste, and in moste secrete wyse came to the
pauylyon of kynge Saule, where he founde
hym slepyng, hauing by him his speare, and
a cuppe with water: Wherfore oone of the
company of Dauid sayde, that he with the
speare of Saul, wolde stryke hym through,
and slea hym. Nay sayde Dauid, our lorde
forbede, that I suffre my soueraygne lord to
be slayne. For he is annoynted of god. And
therwith he toke the speare with the cuppe
of water. And whan he was a good distãce
from the host of Saul, he cried with a loude
voyce to Abner, whyche was than marshall
of the army of Saul, who aunswered and
sayde, what art thou that thus dyseasest the
kyng, which is nowe at his reste? To whom
Dauid sayd, Abner, thou and thy company
are worthy deathe, that haue so negligently
watched your prynce. Where is his speare,
and the cup of water, that stode at his hed-
des heade? Verily ye be but dead men, whã
he shall knowe it. And therewith he shewed
the speare and cuppe with water. Whyche
Saule perceyuynge, and hearynge the voyce
of Dauid, cryed vnto hym, sayinge: Is not
this the voyce of my deere sonne Dauid? I

vncurtelly do pursue hym, and he not withstandynge dothe to me good for euyll. With other wordes, which to abbreuiate the matter, I passe ouer.

Hystories in hangynges.

¶ This noble hystory, and other semblable eyther wrought in Arelle, or cunnyngly painted, wyll moche better beseme the houses of noble men, than the Cõcubines, and voluptuous pleasures of the same Dauid, and Salamon his sonne, whiche be more frequently expressed in the hangynges of houses and coũterpoyntes, than the vertue and holynes of the oone, or the wyse experimentes of the other. But nowe wyll I passe ouer to hystories, whiche be more strange, and therfore I suppose more pleasant to the reder.

Louing seruant.

¶ Xerxes being kyng of Persia, the greate citie of Babylon rebelled against him, which was of suche strengthe, that the kynge was not of power to subdue it: that perceyuyng a gentylman, one of the counsayle of kynge Xerxes, named Zopirus, a man of notable wysedom, vnwittyng to any person, dyd cut of his owne eares and nose, and priuily departed towarde Babylon: And being knowen by them of the citie, was demaunded, who had so disfygured hym. Vnto whome he answered, with apparant tokens of heuynes, that forasmoche as he had gyuen to Xerxes counsayle and aduyse, to be reconciled vnto theyr citie, he being meued with ire and displeasure towarde hym, in moste

cruell

cruell wyse, caused hym to be soo shamefully mutilate. Addyng therunto reprochefull wordes agaynst Xerxes. The Babylonians beholdynge his miserable astate, and the tokens, which (as it semed to them) approued his wordes to be true, moch pitied hym: And as well for the greate wysedome, that they knew to be in hym, as for the occasion, whiche they supposed shoulde incense hym to be shortly auenged, made hym theyr chiefe capitayne, and committed holy to hym the gouernaunce and defence of theyr city: whiche happened in euery thynge accordynge to his expectation. Wherupon he shortly gaue notice to the kynge of all his assayres and explooytures. And fynallye soo endeuoured hym selfe, by his wysedome, that he accorded the kynge and the cytie, without any losse or damage to eyther of them. Wherefore on a tyme the sayde kynge Xerxes, cutstynge an odly greate pomegarnate, and beholdyng it sayre and full of kernelles, sayde in the presence of all his counsayle: He hadde leauer haue suche one frende, as Zopirus was, thanne as many Babylons, as there were kernels in the pomegarnate. And also that he rather wolde, that Zopirus were restored agayn to his nose, and his eares, than to haue a hundred suche cities as Babylon was. Whiche by the report of writers was incomparably the greatest and fayrest citie of all the worlde.

The

Cinnamus

¶ The Parthiens in a cyuyle dyscorde amonge them selues, dzaue Arthabanus their kynge out of his realme, and elected among them one Cinnamus to be theyr kyng. Jazate kynge of Adiabenes, vnto whom Arthabanus was fledde, sent an ambassade vnto the Parthiens, exhortynge theym to receyue agayn Arthabanus: but they made answere that sens the departing of Arthabanus, they had by a hole assent chosen Cinnamus, vnto whom they had done theyr fealtie, and were swozn his subiectes, which oth they mought not laufully bzeake. Therof hearynge Cinnamus, who at that tyme was kynge ouer them, wzate vnto Arthabanus and Jazate, that they shulde come, and that he wold render the realme of Parthia vnto Arthabanus. And whan they were come, Cinnam? mette with them, adourned in the robes of a kynge, and as he appzoched Arthabanus, a lyghtynge downe of his hozse, sayd in this wyse: Syz, whan the people hadde expelled you out of youre realme, and wolde haue translated it vnto an other, at their instance I toke it. But whan I perceiued theyr rancour asswaged, and that with good wyl they wolde haue you agayn, whiche are theyr naturall soueraygne lozde, and that nothynge letted, but onely that they wold nothyng do contrary to my pleasure, with good wylle, and foz no dzede oz other occasion, as ye may persyue, w here render your realme ekfsons

vnto

vnto you, and therwith takyng the diademe of from his owne head, did set it immediatly vpon the head of Arthabanus.

A faythfull tutour.

¶ The fydelitie of Ferdinando (kynge of Aragon) is not to be forgotten, whome his brother Henry, kyng of Castille, decessyng, made gouernour of his sonne, beinge an infant. This Fernando with such Justice, ruled and ordered the realme, that in a parliament, holden at Castille, it was treated by the hole cõsent of the nobles and people, that the name or title of the kyngdom of Spayn shulde be gyuen vnto hym. Whiche honour he faynyng to receyue thankefully, dyd put vpon him a large and wyde robe, wherin he secretely bare the yong prince his neuew, and so cam to the place, where for the sayd purpose, the nobles and people were assembled, demaundynge of euerye man his sentence: Who with oone voyce gaue vnto hym the kyngdome of Spayne. With that he tooke out of his robe the lyttell baby his neuewe, and settynge hym on his shulder, sayd all aloude vnto them: Lo ye Castilians, beholde here is your kyng. And than he confyrmyng the hartes of the people towarde his neuew. fynally deliuered to him his realme in peace, and in all thynges abundant. This is the fidelitie that appertaineth to a noble and gentyll harte.

¶ In what hatrede and perpetual reproche ought they to be, that corrupted with pestilenciall

lentiall auaryce or ambytion, doo betraye theyr mayſters, or any other that truſtethe them: O what monſtrous perſonnes haue wereade and herd of, whiche for the inordinate and diuelliſſhe appetite to reigne, haue moſte tyrannouſely ſlayne the chyldren, not onely of their ſouereigne lordes, but alſo of theyr owne naturall bretherne, cõmitted vnto theyr gouernance: of whome purpoſely I leaue at this tyme to wryte, bycauſe the moſt curſed remembrance of them ſhall not conſume the tyme, that the well diſpoſed reder mought occupy in examples of vertue.

Vengeance for treaſon

¶ This one thynge, I wolde were remembred, that by the iuſt prouidence of god, diſloyaltie or treaſon, ſeldome eſcapeth greate vengeance: All be it that it be pretended for a neceſſary purpoſe.

¶ Exaumple we haue of Brutus and Caſſius, two noble Romans, and men of excellent vertues, whiche pretendyng an honourable zeale to the lybertye and cõmune weale of theyr citie, ſlewe Julius Ceſar, who truſted them moſt of all other, for that he vſurped to haue the perpetual dominiõ of themꝑire, ſuppoſyng therby to haue brought the Senate and people to theyr priſtinate libertie. But it dyd not ſo ſucceede to theyr purpoſe. But by the deathe of ſo noble a prince, hapned confuſion and ciuile battayles: And bothe Brutus and Caſſius, after long warres, vaynquiſhed by Octauian, neuewe and heyre

heyre vnto Cesar, at the last fallynge into extreme desperation, slewe them selues. A worthy and conuenient vengeaunce for the murder of so noble and valyant a pryncc Many other lyke examples do remayne, as well in wrytynge as in late remembrance, whyche I passe ouer for this tyme.

¶ Of promyse and couenant. Cap. vii.

CConcernynge that parte of Fydelytie, whyche concerneth the keepynge of promyse, or couenauntes, experience declareth howe lyttell it is nowe had in regarde, to the notable rebuke of all vs, whiche do profesſe Chrystis religion. Consyderynge that the Turkes and Sarazens haue vs therfore in contempt and derisyon, they hauynge fydelitie of promise aboue all thing in reuerence. But no meruayle, that a bare promyse holdeth not, where an othe vppon the Euangelystes solempnely and openly taken, is but lyttell estemed. Lord god, howe frequente and familyar a thynge with euery astate and degree throughoute Christendome, is this reuerent othe on the Gospelles of Christe? Howe it hath ben hytherto kepte, it is so well knowen and had in daylye experyence, that I shal not nede to make of the neglectynge therof any more declaratyon. Onely I wylle shewe, howe the Gentyles, lackynge trewe relygyon, had

had solemne othes in great honor, and howe terrible a thynge it was amonge theym, to breake theyr othes or vowes. In so moch as they supposed, that ther was no power, victory or profyte, whiche mought be equall to the vertue of an othe.

Periurye punished.

¶ Among the Egyptians, they which were periured, hadde theyr heades stryken of, as well for that they violated the honour due vnto god, as also that therby faith and trust amonge people mought be decayed.

¶ The Scithes sware onely by the chayre or throne of theyr kyng, which if they brake, they therfore suffred deathe.

The forme of an othe among ancient Romaynes.

¶ The auncient Romaynes (as Tulli writeth) sware in this maner: He that shoulde sweare, helde in his hande a stone, and sayde in this wyse: The Cytie, with the goddes therof being saulfe, so Jupiter caste me out of it, yf I deceyue wittingly, as I cast from me this stone. And this othe was so straytely obserued, that it is not remembred, that euer any man brake it.

The greatest othe.

¶ Plutarche writeth, that the fyrste Temple that Numa Pompilius, the second king of Romaynes, made in the citie of Rome, was the temple of faythe. And also he declared, that the greatteste othe, that mought be, was faythe: whyche nowe a dayes is vseth taken for any othe, but moste commonly is vsed in mockage, or in suche thinges as men force not, though they be not beleued.

Othes vsed

In

¶ In dayely communication the matter fauoureth not, except it be as it were seasoned with horrible othes, As by the holy blondde of Christe, his woundes, whiche for our redemption he paynfully suffred, his glorious harte, as it were numbles chopped in pecis. Chyldren (whiche abhorreth me to remember) do playe with the armes and bones of Christ, as they were chery stones. The soule of god, whiche is incõprehensible, and not to be named of any creature without a wonderfull reuerence and drede, is not only the othe of great gentylmen, but also so vndiscretely abused, that they make it (as I mought say) theyr gonnes, wherewith they thunder oute threatnynges and terryble menacys, whan they be in theyr fury, though it be at the dambnable play of dyse. The masse, in whiche honourable ceremony is lefte vnto vs, the memoriall of Christis gloryous passyon, with his corporall presence in fourme of bread, the inuocation of the thre diuine persones in one deitie, with all the hole companye of blessed spirites and soules elect, is made by custome so symple an othe, that it is nowe almost neglected and lytell regarded of the nobilitie, and is only vsed amonge husbande men and artificers: oncelle some taylour or barbour, as welle in his othes as in the excesse of his apparayle, wyll counterfayte and be lyke a gentylman.

¶ In iudiciall causes, be they of neuer soo

lyght importaunce, they that be no parties but straungers. I meane wytnesses and iu-rates, whiche shall procede in the tryall, doo make no lesse othe, but openly doo renounce the helpe of god and his saintes, and the be-nefite of his passion, if they say not true, as farforth as they knowe. Lowe yuell that is obserued, where the one party in degre farre excedeth the other, or where hope of reward or affection taketh place, no man is ignorãt, sens it is euery yere more commune than har-uest. Alas what hope shall we haue of any publike weale, where suche a pestilence reyg-neth? Doth not Salomon say, A man mo-che swearynge, shall be fylled with iniquy-tie, and the plage shall not departe from his howse? O mercyfull god, howe many men be in this realme, whyche be horryble swea-rers, and commune iurates periured? Than howe moche iniquitie is there? and howe many plages are to be feared, where as be so many houses of swearers? Surely I am in more drede of the terrible vengeance of god, than in hope of amendement of the publike weale. And soo in myne opynyon ought all other to be, which beleue, that god knoweth all thynge that is done here in earthe: and as he hym selfe is all goodnesse, so loueth he all thyng that is good, which is vertue, and ha-teth the contrary, which is vice. Also al thing that pleaseth hym, he preserueth, and that thyng that he hateth, he at the last distroyeth

but

but what vertu may be without veritie, called trouth, the declaration wherof is faythe or fidelitie: For as Tulli sayth: Fayth is a constaunce and truthe of thynges spoken or conenaunted. And in an other place he saith: Nothing kepeth so togither a publike weale as dothe fayth. Than foloweth it well, that without fayth a publike weale may not continue And Aristotle saith, By the same craft or meanes, that a publike weale is fyrst constituted, by the same crafte or meanes is it preserued. Than sens faythe is the foundation of Justice, which is the chiefe constitutour and maker of a publyke weale, and by the afore mencioned auctoritie, conseruatour of the same, I may wel conclude, that faith is bothe the origynall, and (as it were) principall constitutour and conseruatour of the publyke weale.

¶ It is also no lyttell reproche vnto a man whiche esteemeth honestie, to be lyte in makynge promyse: or whan he hath promysed, to breake or neglecte it. Wherfore nothynge ought to be promysed, whyche shulde be in any wyse contrary to Justice. Promyse.

¶ On a tyme, one remembred kynge Agesilaus of his promyse: By god, sayde he, that is truthe, if it stande with Justice: yf not, I than spake, but I promysed not. Plutarch? in apophthegma. Seneca de benefi. iii.

¶ But nowe at this present tyme, we maye make the exclamation, that Seneca dothe, saying, O the fouls and dishonest confession

of the fraude or mylchief of mankynd now adayes, ſcales be more ſetts by than ſoules. Alas what reproche is it to chriſten men, and reioycing to Turkes and Sarazens, that no thyng is ſo exactely obſerued amonge them, as fayth, conſyſtyng in laufull promyſe and couenant: And amonge chryſten men, it is ſo neglected, that it is more often times broken than kepte: And not onely ſcalynge (whiche Seneca diſdayned, that it ſhuld be more ſet by than ſowles) is vnethe ſuffycient, but alſo it is nowe come into ſuche a generall contempt, that all the learned men in the lawes of this realme, whiche be alſo men of great wyſedome, canne not with all theyr ſtudye deuyſe ſo ſufficient an inſtrument, to bynde a man to his promyſe or couenant, But that there ſhall be ſomme thynge therein eſpied, to bryngе it in argumente, yf it be denied. And in caſe that bothe the parties be equalle in eſtimation or credence, or els he that deniеth, ſuperyour to the other, and noo witneſſes, depoſeth on knoweledge of the thynge in demaunde, the promyſe or couenant is vtterly fruſtrate, whiche is one of the prynciſpall decayes of the publike weale, as I ſhall treate therof more largely herafter. And here at this tyme I leaue to ſpeake any more of the partes of that moſt royall and neceſſary vertue, called Juſtyce.

Of

Of the noble vertue fortitude, and of the two extreme vices, Audacitie, and Timeroſitie. Cap. viii.

IT is to be noted, that to hym, that is a gouernour of a publyke weale, belongeth a double gouernance, that is to ſay, an interiour or inward gouernaunce, and an exterior or outward gouernance. The fyrſte is of his affectes and paſſyons, whiche do inhabite within his ſoule, and be ſubiectes to reaſon. The ſeconde is of his chyldren, his ſeruantes, and other ſubiectes to his auctoritie. To the one and thother is requyred the vertue moralle called Fortitude, which as moch as it is a vertu, is a Mediocritie or meane betwene two extremities, the one in ſurpluſage, the other in lacke. The ſurpluſage is called Audacitie, the lacke Timeroſitie or feare. I name that Audacitie, whiche is an exceſſiue and inordinate truſte, to eſcape all daungers, and cauſeth a man to do ſuch actes, as are not to be ieoperded. Timoroſitie is as well whan a man feareth ſuche thynges, as be not to be feared, as alſoo whan he feareth thynges to be feared, more than needeth. For ſome thynges are neceſſarye and good to be feared, and not to feare them is but rebuke. Infamye and repproche, be of all honeſt men to be dradde. And not to feare thynges that be terrible, againſte whiche no power or wytte of man can reſyſte, is

Gouernãce double.

Audacitie.

Timeroſitie.

foolehardynesse, and worthye no prayse, as earthquakes, rages of greate and sodayne flouddes, whiche doo beare downe before theym mountaynes and greatte townes. Also the horryble furye of soadyne fyre, deuouryng all thynge that it apprehendeth. Yet a man that is valyaunt, called in latyne Fortis, shall not in surhe terryble aduentures be resolued into wayllynges or desperation. But where force constraynethe hym to abyde, and neyther power or wysedome alsayed, maye suffyse to escape, but wyll he or noo, he muste nedes perysshe, there dothe he pacyently susteyne deth, whiche is the ende of all euyls. And lyke as an excellent Phisition cureth moste dangerous diseases and deadly woundes: so dothe a man that is valiant, auaunce hym selfe as inuyncible in thynges ehat do seme moste terrible, not vnaduysedly, and as it were in a beastly rage, but of a gentylle courage, and with premedytation, eyther by victory, or by deathe wynnyng honour and perpetual memory, the iust reward of theyr vertue.

A valyant man.

¶ Of this maner of valyance was Horatius Cocles, an ancient Romaine, of whole exãple, I haue alredy writtẽ in the fyrst boke where I cõmended the feate of swymminge.

¶ Pirrhus, whome Anniball estemed to be the seconde of the moste valyant capitayns, assaultynge a stronge fortresse in Sicile called Erice, fyrst of all other scaled the walles,

King Pyrrhus the hardy.

tes, where he behaued hym so valiantly, that suche as resysted came he slewe, and other by his maiestye and fyerse countenaunce he dyd discomfyt. And finally before any of his army, entred the walles, and there alone susteyned the hole brunt of his ennemies, vntyl his people, whiche were without, at the laste myssyng hym, stered partly with shame, that they had so lost hym, partly with his courageous example, toke good hart, and inforced theym selues in suche wyse, that they clymmed the walles, and came to the succour of Pyrrhus, and soo by his prowesse wanne the garrison.

¶ What valyant hart was in the Romayn Mutius Scevola, whiche whan Porcena, kyng of Ethruscanes, had by great power, constrayned the Romaynes, to keepe theym within theyr citie, toke on hym the habite of a begger, and with a swoorde pryuyly hyd vnder his garment, went to the enemies campe where he being taken for a begger, was nothyng mystrusted: and whan he had espied the kynges pauilion, he drewe hym thyther, where he founde dyuers noble men syttyng. But for as moche as he certainly knewe not whiche of them was the kynge, at the laste perceyuyng one to be in more ryche apparayle than any of the other, and supposyng hym to be Porcena, he or any manne espied him, stepte to the sayde lorde, And with his swoorde gaue hym suche a stroke, that he

immediatly dyed. And Scæuola being taken (for he coulde not escape suche a multitude) boldly confessed, that his hande erred, and that his intente was to haue slayne kynge Porcena. Wherwith the kynge (as reason was) all chaufed, commaunded a great fire forthwith to be made, wherin Scæuola shuld haue ben brenned, but he nothynge abashed, sayde to the kynge: Thynke nat Porcena, that by my deathe onely, thou mayste escape the handes of the Romaynes, for there be in the citie thre hundred yonge men, suche as I am, that be prepared to slea the by one meanes or other, and to the accomplyshment therof, be also determyned to suffre all tourmentes, wherof thou shalte haue of me an experience in thy syght: and incontynently went to the fyre, whyche was made for to brenne hym, and with a gladde countenance dydde put his hande into the flame, and there helde it without chaungynge of any countenance, vntyll his sayde hande was brenned vnto asshes. In lyke wyse he wolde haue put his other hande into the fyre, yf he had not bene withdrawen by Porcena, who wonderynge at the valyant courage of Scæuola, lycenced hym to retourne vnto the citie. But whan he consydered, that by the wordes of Scæuola, so great a numbre of yonge menne of semblable prowesse, were confederate to his distruction, so that or all they coulde be apprehended, his lyfe shulde be alway in jeo-

pardy

pardy, he dispayryng of wynning the cuy of Rome, rayled his siege, and departed.

¶ In what actes fortitude is, and considerations therto belongyng. Ca. ix.

But all thoughe I haue nowe reherled sundry examples, to the commendatiō of Fortitude, concernyng actes martiall, yet by the way I wold haue it remembred, that the prayse is propryely to be referred vnto the vertue, that is to say, to enterpryse thynges dreadefull, eyther for the publyke weale, or for wynnynge of perpetuall honour, oreis for eschewyng reproche or dishonour. Wherunto be annexed these considerations, what importaunce the enterpryse is, and wherfore it is doone, with the tyme and opportunitie whan it ought to be doone. For (as Tulli sayth) to entre in battayll, and to fyght vnaduysedly, is a thyng wylde and a maner of beastes: but thou shalt fight valyantly, whan time requyreth and also necessitie And alway deathe is to be preferred before Seruitude, or any dyshonestye. And therefore the actes of Anniball, agaynste the Saguntines, whiche neuer dyd him displeasure, is nat accounted for any prowesse. Neither Cataline, whiche for his singular commodite, and a fewe other, makyng detestable warres agaynste his owne countrey, entendynge to haue brenned the noble cytie of

Rome, and to haue dystroyed all the good men, is nat numbred amonge valyant men, all though he faught manly, and with great courage, vntyll he was slayne.

¶ What auailed the boldnes of Marro and Flaminius, noble capitayns of Romaines, whiche despysyng the prowesse and craste of Annibal, & contemnyng the sobre counsell of Fabius, hauing only trust in their owne hardynes, lost two noble armies, wherby the power of the Romayns, was nye vtterly perysshed. Wherfore ofttymes I say, that a valiant man is he, that wolle tollerate or suffre that, whiche is nedefull, and in such wyse as is nedeful, and for that which is nedeful, & also whā it is nedeful. And he that lacketh any of this may be called hardy, but not valiant.

Who may be called a valiant mā

¶ Moreouer, although they, which be hardy, or persons desperate, haue a similitude and seme to be valiant, yet be they nat valiāt, no more than kynges in mayegames and enterludes be kynges. For they that be hardy, er they come to the peryll, seme to be fierce and eigre, and in beginyng theyr enterpryse wonderfull hasty, but whan they fele the thynge more harde and greuous than they estemed, theyr courage decaieth more and more, and as men abasshid and vnpreparid, their hartes vtterly do fayle, & in conclusion they appere more faynt, than they that be cowardes.

¶ Also in Desperation can nat be fortitude: for that beinge a morall vertue, is euer voluntary.

luntary. Desperation is a thyng as it were constrayned, ne hathe any maner consyderation, where fortitude expendeth euery thing and acte diligently, and dothe also moderate it with reason.

¶ Here nowe appereth (as I suppose) that neyther they, which employ theyr force with out iuste cause or necessitie, ne they, whyche without forecast, or (as I mought say) circumspection, wyll take in hande an harde enterpryse: ne they, whiche headlonge wyll fall in to dangers, from whens there is no hope to escape: nor yet me desperate, which dye willyngly without any motion of honour or zele towarde the publyke weale, be in the numbre of valyant persons, but of a refuse company, and rather to be reckned with beastis sauage, than amonge men, whiche do participate with reason. For as Curtius sayth: It appertayneth to men, that be valyant, rather to dispise death, than to hate lyfe. Q. Curtius.

¶ A Man is called in latine Vir, whereof sayth Tulli, Vertue, is named. And the most propre vertue longynge to a man, is Fortitude, whereof be two excellent propreties, that is to say, the contempt of death, and of griefe. But what very fortitude is, he more playnly declareth afterwarde, in a more larger circumscription, sayinge, Thynges humayn ought to be lytell esteemed, deathe nat regarded, labours & greefes to be thought tolerable. When this is ratified by iugement

and

and a constant opinion, than that is valiant and stable fortitude. But therunto I wold shuld be added, whiche opinyon and iudgement procedeth of a reason, and nat repugnant to iustice. And than it shall accord with this saying of Aristotle, A valyant man susteyneth, and dothe that, whiche belongethe to fortitude, for cause of honestie. And a lyttell before he saythe: A man that is valyant, as well suffreth, as dothe that, whiche agreeth with his worshyp, and as reason cõmandeth, Hod no violence or sturdy mynde, lackyng reason and honesty, is any part of fortitude. Unto this noble vertue be attendant or as it were contynuall adherentes, dyuers vertues whiche do ensue, and be of ryghte great estymation.

Aristotle.

Of peynefulnesse, the fyrste compañion of Fortitude. Cap. x.

IN them, whych be either gouernors or cappytains, or in other office, wherunto appertayneth great cure or dispatchynge of sundry great affayres, peynefulnes, named in latyn Tollerantia, is wonderfull cõmendable. For therby thynges be in suche wyse explayted, that vtilitie proceedeth therof, and seldome repentance. For as mochе as thereof cometh an excellent fruite, called opportunitie, whiche is euer rype, and neuer in no other astate. For lack of this ver-

tue

tue, moche wyledome and many a valyaunt enterpryse, haue perysshed and tourned to none effecte. For yf thynges sharply inuented, prudently discussed, and valiantly enterprysed, be nat dilygently folowed, and without cessyng applyed and pursued, as it were in a moment all thyng is subuerted: and the peynes before taken with the tyme therein spente, is vtterly frustrate.

¶ The peynefulnes of Quintus Fabius, (beyng dictatour or principal capitayn of the Romayns) in leadynge his armye by mountayns, and other harde passages, so disappointed Annibali of the hope of victory, wherin he so moche gloried, that at the last he trayned and drewe Annibali and his hoste into a fielde, inclosed about with mountaynes, and depe ryuers, where Fabius had so enuyronned hym, by the fortifyeng of two mountaines with his people, that they were in ieoperdy, either to be famished, for lacke of vitayl, or els in fleing, to be slayne by the Romains, yf the crafty and politike wytte of Annibali had not delyuered them. Whych for the notable inuention, I wyll borow so moch time of the reader, to renewe the remembraunce therof in our englysshe tonge.

¶ Annibali, perceyuing the daunger that he and his armye were in, cõmanded in the depe of the nyght, whan nothynge was stirryng, to be brought afore hym, aboute two thousand great oxen and bulles, whiche a lytell before

The policy of Annibal to escape frõ the Romaynes.

before his men had taken in forragynge, and
caused faggottes made of drye stycks to be
fastned vnto theyr hornes, and sette on fyre.
The beastes troubled with the flame of tyre
ranne as they were woode vp towarde the
mountaynes, where as lay the hoost of the
Romaynes, Annibal with his holle armye
folowyng in aray. The Romaynes, whyche
kepte the mountaynes beyng sooze affrayde
of this new and terryble syght, forsoke their
places. And Fabius dredynge the deceytfull
wytte of Annibal, kept the army within the
trenche, and so Annibal with his hoste esca-
ped without domage. But Fabius, beynge
paynefull in pursuynge Annibal from place
to place, awaytynge to haue hym at aduan-
tage, at the last dyd so fatigate hym and his
hoste, that thereby in conclusyon his power
mynyshed, and also the strength of the Car-
thagmenses, of whome he was generall ca-
pytayne. In so moch as they were at the last
constrayned to countermaunde hym by sun-
dry messangers, wylynge hym to abandon
the warres in Italy, and to retourne to the
defence of his owne citie. Whiche by the o-
pinyon of moste excellent wryters shuld ne-
uer haue hapned, yf Fabius wold haue left
any parte of his pourpose, eyther for the te-
diousnesse of the peyne and trauayle, or for
the intollerable rebukes, gyuen vnto hym
by Minutius, who imbrayded hym with
cowardyse.

Am onge

¶ Amonge the vertues, which abounded in Julius Cesar, none was accounted more excellent, than that in his counsailes, assayes, and exployures, he omytted no tyme, nc forsoke any peyne. Wherfore moste sooneste of any man, he atchieued and brought to good passe, all thyng that he enterpryled.

¶ Suppose ye that the same Anniballe, of whome we late spake, coulde haue wonne fromie the Romaynes, all Spayne, and haue perced the mountaynes, called Alpes, makynge a waye for his armye, where before was neuer any passage, and also haue gotten all Italye vnto Rome gates, yf he had not bene a man peynfull, and of labour incomparable?

Peinefulsnes in hearing cõtrouersies.

¶ Julius Cesar, after he had the intier gouernaunce and domynion of the empyre of Rome, neuer omytted labour and diligence as well in commune causes as priuate, concernynge the defence and assistence of innocentes. Also he laborously and studiously discussed controuerlies, whiche almoste dayly, he herde in his owne person.

¶ Traiane, and bothe Antonines emperors of Rome, and for theyr vertue worthy to be emperours of all the worlde, as well in exteriour assayes, as in the assayes of the citie, were euer so contynually occupied, that vneth they found any lytell tyme, to haue any recreation or solace.

¶ Alexander also, for his incomparable gra-

uitie,

The patern of a perfite gouernour.

uitie, called Seuerus, beinge but of the age of. xviii. yeres, whan he fyrst was made emperour, fyndynge the noble cytie of Rome, than maystresse of the woꝛld, thꝛoughly coꝛrupted with most abhominable vices, by the moste shamefull example and lyuyng of that detestable monster, Varius Heliogabalus, next emperour befoꝛe hym, a greate parte of the senate and nobilitie, beinge resolued into semblable vyces, the chyualrye dyspersed, martiall pꝛowes abandoned, and well nygh the maiesty imperyall dyssolued and bꝛought in contempte, was so inflamed with the zele of the pꝛystinate honour of the Romayns, that he vtterly layde apart all pleasures and quyetnes, and holly gaue his wytte and body to studye and trauayles intollerable, and cholyng out of all partes of the woꝛlde, men of greattest wysedome and experyence, and consultynge with them, neuer ceassed, vntyll he hadde reduced as well the Romaynes, as all other cytes and pꝛouynces, vnto theym subiecte, to theyr olde moderation and temperance.

¶ Many other exaumples coulde I reherse to the commendation of paynefulnesse: but these shall suffyce at this pꝛesente tyme, to pꝛoue that a gouernour must nedes be peynfull in his owne persone, yf he desyre to haue those thynges pꝛosper, that ar vnder his gouernaunce.

Of

¶ Of the noble and layre vertue named Pacience. Cap. xi.

PAcience is a noble vertue, apperteining as well to inward gouernaunce, as to exteriour gouernance: and is the vanquisshour of iniuries, the sure defence against all affectes and passions of the soule, retaynyng always gladdes semblant in aduersitie and dolour.

¶ Saynt Ambrose saith in his boke of offices, Better is he, that contemneth iniurie, than he that sorroweth. For he that contemneth it, as he nothyng felte, passeth not on it: But he that is sorowfulle, is therwith tourmented, as though he felte it. Ambrosi⁹ Off. i.

¶ Whiche was wel proued by Zeno Eleates, a noble phylosopher, who beyng a man of excellente wysdome and eloquence, came to a cytie, called Agrigentum, where reigned Phalaris, the mooste cruell tyrant of all the worlde, who kept and vsed his owne people in mooste miserable seruytude. And fyrste he thought by his wysedome and eloquence, to haue so perswaded the tyrant to temperance, that he shoulde abandon his cruell and auaricious appetite: but custome of vice more preuailed in him than profitable counsayle. Wherfore Zeno, hauyng pitie at the wretched astate of the people, erected dyuers noble men, to delyuer the cytie of that seruyle condycion. This counsayle was not soo se-

cretely gyuen, but that notice therof came to the tyrant, who causyng all the people to be assembled in the market place, caused Zeno there to be cruciate with sondry turmentes, always demaundyng of hym, who dyd participate with hym of his sayd counsayle: but for no peynes wolde he confesse any person, but induced the tyraunt to haue in mystruste his nerte frendes and familyar seruauntes. And repryuyng the people for theyr cowardyse and dede, he at the last so inflamed the vnto libertie, that sodainly with a great violence they fell on the tyrant, and pressed hym with stones. The olde Zeno, in all his exquisite turmentes neuer made any lamentable crie, or desyre to be relyued.

¶ But for this fourme of Pacyence, this onely exaumple suffyseth at this tyme, seys there be so frequente exaumples of martyrs, whiche for true religion sustayned pacientiy not onely equalle tourmentes with Zeno, but also farre exceedyng. But now wyl I wrytte of that Pacience, that pertayneth vnto interiour gouernaunce, wherby the natural passions of man be subdued, and the mayes of fortune susteyned. For they whyche be in autorite, and be occupied aboute greate affayres, theyr liues be not onely replenished with labours and greuous displeasures, but also they be subiectes to sondry chances.

Pacience howe hit

¶ The meane to obteyne Pacience, is by two thinges principally, Adyrecte and vpryght

right conscience, and true and constant opinion in the estimation of goodnes, which scldome commeth onely of nature, excepte it be wonderful excellent, but by the diligent study of very philosophye (not that whyche is sophisticate, and consisteth in sophismes) nature is therto prepared and holpē. This opinion is of suche power, that ones cleuyng fast to the mind, it draweth a man as it were by violence to good or euyll. Therfore Tulli sayth: Lyke as whan the bloud is corrupted, and either fleume or colere, blacke or redde, is superhabundant, than in the bodye be ingendred sores and diseases: soo the veration of euyl opinions, and theyr repugnancie, dispoyleth the mynde of all helth, and troubleth it with grefes.

may be obteyned.

Opinion good or yll

Tusc. q. iii

¶ Contrariwyse afterwarde Tulli describeth good Opinion, and calleth it the beautie of the sowle, sayinge in this wyse: As of bodily membres, there is an apt fygure, with a maner pleasantnesse of colour, and that is called beautie: so in the sowle, the equalitie and constance of opinions, and iugementes enluyng vertue, with a stable and sted faste pūrpose, or conteynyng the selfe same effecte, that is in vertue, is named Beautie. Which sentences depely muestigate, and wel perceyued, by them that be aboute prynces and gouernours, they may consyder, how ware and circumspecte they ought to be in the indusyng them to opinions.

¶ Of pacience in susteynyng wronges and rebukes. Cap. xii.

VNto him that is valyant of courage, it is a greate peyne and difficultie to susteyne iniurie, and not to be forthe with reuenged: and yet often tymes there is accoũted more valiantnesse, in the sufferance than in an hasty reuenging. As it was in Antoninus the emperour, called the philosopher agaynst whom rebelled one Cassius, & vsurped the emperiall maiestie in Syria, and in the east partes. Yet at the last the same Cassus beyng slayne by the capitaynes of Antonine nexte adioynyng, he therof vnwittyng, was therwith sooze greued. And therfoze takyng to him the chyldzen of Cassius, entreated themhonozably, wherby he acquired euer after, the incomparable and mooste assured loue of his subiectes.

¶ As moch dishonour and hatred his sonne Commodus wan by his impacience, wherin he so exceded, that foz as moche as he foũd not his bayne hette to his pleasure, he caused the keper therof to be throwen into the hote bzenning fornais. What thing mought be more odible, than that mooste dyuely the impacience?

¶ Iulius Cesar, whan Catullus the poete wzate agaynste hym contumelious oz repzocheable verses, not onely fozgaue hym, but to make him his frend, caused him oftentymes

to

to soupe with hym.

¶ The noble emperour Augustus, whan it was shewed him, that many men in the cytie hadde of him vnsittyng wordes, thought it a sufficiente answere, that in a free citie menne muste haue theyr tunges at libertie. Nor neuer was with any person, that spake euyl of him, in word or contenance wors discõtented

¶ Some menne wyll not prayse this maner of pacience, but account it for folisheness: but yf they beholde on the other syde, what incommoditie commeth of impacience, howe a man is therwith abstracte from reason, and tourned into a monstruous fygure, and doo conferre all, that with the stable countenence and pleasant regarde of him that is pacient, and with the commoditie that dothe ensue therof, they shall affyrme, that simplicitie is an excellent wysedome.

Remedy agaynst impacience.

¶ Moreouer, the best way to be auenged, is so to cõtemne iniurie and rebuke, & lyue with suche honestie, that the wer shal at the last be therof ashamed, or at the lest, lese the fruit of his malice, that is to say, shal not reioise and haue glorye of thy hynderance or domage.

¶ Of pacience in repulse or hynderance of promotion. Ca.xiii.

TO a man, hauyng a gentyll courage, lykewise as nothyng is so pleasaunt, or equally reioyseth hym, as rewarde

or preferremente sodaynelye gyuen, or aboue his merite: so nothyng maye be to hym more dysplesaunt or peynefull, than to be neglected in his peyne takynge, and the rewarde and honour, that he loketh for, and for his merites is worthy to haue, to be gyuen to one of lasse vertue, and perchance of no vertue or laudable qualitie.

¶ Plato in his Epistoll to Dion kynge of Scicile sayethe: It is good ryght, that they, whiche be good men, & do the semblable, obteyne honor, whiche they be worthy to haue.

Commodities whiche do happen by the advancement of good men.

¶ Undoubtedly in a prince or noble manne, maye be nothynge more excellent, ye nothyng more necessary, than to aduaunce menne after the estemation of theyr goodnes, and that for two speciall cõmodities, that come therof. Fyrste that therby they prouoke many menne to apprehende vertue. Also to them, whiche be good, and al redy aduaunced, they gyue suche courage, that they endeuour them selfes with all theyr power, to encrease that opinion of goodnes, whereby they were broughte to that aduauncement, whyche nedes muste be to the honour and benefyte of those, by whõ they were so promoted. Contrarywyse, where men from theyr infancye haue eschued vertue, worne the flowrysshyng tyme of youthe in paynefull studye, abandonynge all lustes and other thynge, whyche at that tyme is pleasaunte, trustyng therby to profytte the publyke weale, and to obteyne

honour

honoure: whan eyther theyr vertue and trauayle is lyttel regarded, or the preferrmente, whiche they loked for, is gyuen to other not equall in merite, it not onely perceth theyr harte with moche anguyssche, and oppresseth theym with discomforte, but also mortifieth the courages of many other, whiche be aptely disposed to studye vertue, and hoped therby to haue the propre rewarde therof, whiche is commendation and honoure, whyche beyng gyuen to menne, lackynge vertue and wysedome, shall be occasion for theym to do yuell, as Democritus sayethe: For who douteth, but that auctorytie in a good man doth publysshe his vertue, whyche before lay hyd: In an yuell man it ministreth boldnesse and lycence to do yuell, whiche by dede was before couered.

¶ Surely this Repulse, or (as they vulgarly speake) puttynge backe frome promotion, is no lyttel payne or dyscomforte, but it may be withstande, or at the leaste remedied with Patience, whyche maye be in this wyse induced.

¶ Fyrste, considerynge that the worlde was neuer soo constant, that at all tymes before, good men were iustely rewarded, and none but they onely promoted. Patience howe hit may be induced.

¶ Cato, called Uticensis, at whose wysedome al the world wondred, and whose grauitie, as wel the senate and people of Rome, as other kynges and prynces, reuerenced,

lohyng to be one of the Cõsules, was openly reiected, wherwith his frendes & kynsemen toke no lyttell dyscomfoyte. But Cato hym selfe, soo lyttell regarded that repulse, that where alwayes he went very homely, he the nexte daye folowyng, decked and trymmed hym selfe moze freshelye than he was wonte: and whan he had shewed hym selfe so to the people, at after none he walked with one of his frendes in the market place, bare legged: & in sengle apparayle, as he was accustomed.

¶ Scipio called Nasica, who by the hoole senate was iuged the beste manne in the cytie, and of an auncyent house, was lykewyse put backe, from beyng Consule.

¶ Lelius lykewyse, whyche was openly called the wyse manne, was semblably refused. And diuers other, of whõ hystozies do make mencyon, were abiecte, whan they hadde wel deserued honours, and theyr inferiours in merites promoted.

¶ Also a mannes conscyence shall wel comfoyte hym, whan he hath so lyued, that where he is knowen, menne doo iuge hym woythy the preferment. And than may he say to thẽ, whyche meruayle, why he is not aduaunced, as Cato sayd to a persone, that tolde to him, that menne wondred, why amonge so many noble mennes images, as were set vp in the cytie, Catos image was not espyed. By god sayde Cato, I had leuer that men wondred why I haue none image sette vp, than why men

A wise sentence of Cato.

men shulde set vp myne image. So yf menne meruayle, why a manne is not aduaunced, knowyng hym a good man, than iuge they hym to be worthy promotion, whyche iugement procedeth of fauour: and than he lacke promotion, yet hath he perfecte glory, whiche euery noble harte desyreth. For Tulli sayth: The perfecte and most principall glorie, consysteth in thole thre thynges: If the multitude loue vs: yf they put confydence in vs: if also, as it were meruailing at vs, they thinke vs worthy to haue honour gyuen vnto vs.

¶ With this glorye and clennesse of conscience, shall a wyse manne content hym, and be induced to Pacience, and not be greued with his fortune, but to folowe Democritus, in laughyng at the blynde iugementes of men, in bestowyng promotions.

¶ I omytte at this tyme, to wryte any more of this vertue Pacience, sens to the institution of a gouernour, this semeth to be suffycient, to the residue he shal be better perswaded by the warkes of Plutarche, Seneca, & Pontane, where they wrytte of Pacience, whiche warkes he maye rede at his leasoure.

Of Magnanimitie, whyche mays be named valyaunt courage. Cap. xiiii.

MAgnanimitie is a vertue moche commendable, and also expedient to be in a gouernour, and is as I haue sayd,

a companion of fortitude: And may be in this wyse defyned, that it is an excellencye of mynde, concernyng thynges of great importaunce or estimation, doynge all thynge, that is vertuous, for the achieuyng of honour.

¶ But nowe I remembre me, this worde Magnanimitie, beyng yet straunge, as late borowed oute of the latine, shall not content all men, and specially them, whom nothynge contenteth oute of theyr accustome Mumpsimus: I wyl aduenture to put for Magnanimitie, a worde more familiar, callyng it good Courage, whyche hauing respect to the said definitiō, shal not seme moche inconuenient. But nowe concernyng a more larger description of the sayde vertue. Aristotle sayethe: That manne semeth to be of noble courage, that is worthy, & also iugeth him self worthy to haue thynges that be great. He sayth also afterwarde: Noble courage is an ornament of vertues, for it maketh them the more ample & without them she her selfe may not be.

Courage.

¶ But I wyl for a lytel time leaue this noble Philosopher Aristotel, and reuerently interpret a place in the offices of Tulli, where he most eloquentely and playnely setteth out this vertue saying: Alwaye a valyaunte and noble courage is discerned by two thynges specially, wherof one is in dispisyng thynges outewarde, whan a man is perswaded, neyther to meruayle at any thynge, neyther to wyshe or desyre any thyng, but that whyche

is honeste. Moreouer, that a man shuld not bowe for any fortune or trouble of mynde. Another thyng is: whan thou art of that mind or courage, as I before sayd, that thou than practyse those thynges, not onely whyche be greate, and moste profytable, but also that be very difficile and full of labour and perylle, as welle concernynge mannes lyfe, as many other thynges therto perteynyng.

¶ And afterwarde the same Tulli sayth: To esteme lytell those thynges, whyche vnto the more part of men semeth excellent, and also with reason firme & stable to contemne them, is sygne of a noble and valyaunt courage. Also to tollerate those thynges, whyche do seeme bytter or greuous (wherof there be many in the lyfe of manne, and in fortune) in suche wyse as thou departe not frome the astate of nature, neyther frome the worshyp perteynyng vnto a wise manne, betokeneth a good courage, and also moche constaunce.

¶ By this it semeth, that MAGNANIMITIE, or good courage, is as it were the garmente of vertue, wherwith she is sette oute (as I moughte saye) to the vttermoste. I meane not, that therby vertue is amended or made more beautious, whyche of her selfe is perfecte: but lykewyse as a ladye of excellente beautie, thoughe she be all wayes fayre, yet a ryche and a fresshe garmente declareth her astat, and causeth her the more to be loked on, and therby her naturall beautye to be

to be the better perceyued. Semblably dothe Magnanimitie, ioyned with any vertue, set it wonderfully furthe to be wholden, and (as I mought saye) meruayled at, as it shall appere aboundauntly in the examples ensuyng.

¶ Agesylaus, kynge of Lacedemonia, in the beginning of his youth, perceiuyng al Greece to be in greate feare, for the fame that was spreade of the Persians, comyng with an infinite armye: with a noble courage profred, not onely to defende his owne countrey, but also with a smal host to passe seas into Asia, and frome thens eyther to bryng victorye of the Persians, or els a sure & honorable peace With whose courage, the Lacedemones hyghely reconfforted, deliuered vnto hym. x. thousande souldiours, with the whyche host he wente into Asia, and there vainquisshed the Persians, and retourned ioifully into his countreye, with his people all sauife, to his perpetual renoumme, and also the honour and suretie of all Greece.

¶ Antigonus king of Macedonia, beyng on the sea, one of his capitaynes aduised hym to departe saying: The naupe of his ennemye was moche greatter in noumbre than his: whereunto with a noble courage he answered: And for howe many shyppes accounte you our persones? wherwith his people tooke suche counforte, that they boldely dyd sette furthe, and vainquished theyr enemyes.

¶ Suche noble courage was in great kyng

Alexan-

Alexander, that in his warres agaynste Darius, he was sene of all his people fyghtyng in the preasse of his enemies bare headed.

¶ I wyll not be so vncurtaise, to leue vnremembred in this place, the notable magnanimitie of a kyng of Englande, whiche I happened to rede late in an olde chronycle.

¶ Edgar, who in the time that the Saxons hadde this realme in subiection, hadde subdewed all the other kynges Saxons, & made them his tributaries. On a time he had them all with him at dyner: & after it was shewed hym, that Kynande kyng of Scottes, hadde sayde, that he wondred howe it shoulde happen, that he and other kynges, that were tall and great personages, wolde suffre them selfes to be subdued by so lytell a body as Edgare was. Edgare dissembled and answered nothyng, but fayned to go on huntyng, toke with hym the Scottyshe kynge in his company, and purposely withdrewe hym frome them that were with hym: And sendyng by a secrete seruaunt, two swerdes to be conueide into a place in the forest, by hym appoynted. As soone as he came thither, he toke the one sworde, and deliuered the other to Kinande, byddyng hym to proue his strength: and to assaye, whyther his dedes wolde ratifye his wordes. Wherat the Scottyshe kyng beyng abashed, beholdyng the noble courage of Edgar, with an horrible feare confessed his errour, desyryng pardon, whyche he with moste

humble

humble submission, at the laste obtayned.

¶ That noble kynge Edgare, declaryng by his Magnanimitie, that for his vertue and not by chaunce, he was elected to reigne ouer so noble a region.

¶ Plato for his diuine wysedome and eloquence, named the god of phylosophers, was sent for by Dionyse kyng of Sicile, to the intente, as it semed, that he wolde be of hym instructed, concernyng the polytike gouernance of his realme. But whan he hadde ben with him a certaine space, and wold not flatter with the kynge, and vpholde his tyranny, the kynge became wery of him, in soo moche that if it had not ben at the request of Architas, prynce of Tarent, he wolde haue put hym to deathe. Wherfore partely at the desyre of that prince, partely for feare of the Athenienses, he lycenced Plato to departe without damage: but at his departynge, he said vnto him, as it were in despite: O howe euyll wylte thou speake of me Plato, whan thou commest amonge thy companyons and scolers? Than Plato with a noble courage answered: God defende, there shoulde be in my scole so moche vacant tyme from the studye of wysedome, that there mought be anye place lefte, ones to remembre the.

¶ Now wil I make an ende of this vertue, and procede further to wryte of some vices, whiche commonly do folowe magnanimitie, and with great difficultie may be eschewed.

Of

¶ Of Obstinacy, a familiar vice, folowyng Magnanimitie. Cap. xv.

THE prynce of Oratours, Marcus Tullius, in his fyrst booke of offices, saith: In height and greatnes of courage, is most sooneste ingendred Obstinacye, and inordinat desyre of Soueraignetie. Obstinacye is an affection immoueable, fixed to wylle, abandonyng reason, whiche is ingendred of Pryde, that is to say, whan a manne estemeth so moch him selfe aboue any other, that he reputeth his owne wytte onely, to be in perfection, and contemneth al other counsell. Undoutedly this is an horrible and perylous vyce, and very familiar with theym, whyche be of mooste noble courages. By it many a valiant capitayne and noble prynce, haue not onely fallen theym selfes, but also brought all theyr countreys in daunger, and oftentymes to subuersion and ruine.

¶ The wise kyng Salomon saith: Amonge proude men be alwaye contentions: And they that do all thinges with counsayle, be gouerned by wysedome. I nede not to reherse exãples out of olde wryters, what damage hath ensued of Obstinacie, considering that euery hystorie is full therof, and we styll haue it in daylye experience. But of one thynge am I sure, where Obstinacye ruleth, and reason lacketh place, there counsel auaileth not: And where counsel hath not autoritie & franches,

there

Prouer.xi. there maye nothyng be perfecte. Salomon sayth: Where be many counsayles, there the people is in suretie. Nowe wyl I declare the residue of Tullies sentence, concernyng inordynate desyre of soueraignetie, whyche is propryelye callyd Ambition.

¶ Of an other vyce folowyng magnanimitie, called Ambition. Cap.xvi.

IT was not without a hygh and prudent consyderation, that certayne lawes were made by the Romaines, whiche were named the lawes of Ambition, whereby menne were restrayned in the cytie to obtayne offyces and dignities in the Publyke weale, eyther by gyuyng rewardes, or by other synyster laboure or meanes: And they, whyche by that law were condemned, were put to death without any fauoure. Verily it was a noble lawe, and for all places necessarye, consydereyng what inconuenience hapneth by this vayne and superfluous appetite. Wytnesses among the Romayns, Sylla, Marius, Carbo, Cinna, Pompei, & Cesar, by whose ambicion mo Romaynes were slayne, than in acquiryng the empire of all the worlde. Sylla condemned, and caused to be slayne, foure score thousande Romayns, besyde many mo that where slayne in the battayles, betwene hym and the bothe Marius.

¶ Also Pompei, and Julius Cesar, the one

ſuffryng no piere, the other no ſuperiour, by theyr ambition cauſed to be ſlayne betweene them, people innumerable, and ſubuerted the beſt and moſt noble publyke weale of the worlde, & fynally hauyng lytell tyme ofreioyeyng theyr vnlefull deſyre, Pompey ſhamfully fleyng, had his head ſtryken of, by the commandement of Ptolomee, kyng of Egypt, vnto whom as vnto his frende he fledde for ſuccour. Celar the vanquyſher, was murdred in the Senate with daggers, by theym whom he moſte ſpecially fauoured.

¶ I coulde occupy a great volume with hyſtories of them, whiche couetyng to mount into excellent dignities, dyd therby bryng into extreme perylles, bothe theym ſelues and and theyr countreys. For as Tacitus ſayth, wonderfull elegantly: With them, whyche deſyre ſouerayntie, there is noo meane place betwene the toppe and the ſteppe wwne. To the whiche wordes agreynge Tulli ſayther: Hygh auctorities ſhulde nat moche be deſyred, or rather nat to be taken at ſome tyme, and oftentymes to be lefte and forſaken. So dyd Sylla, whom I late ſpake of. And Dioclelian Emperour of Rome, who after he had gouerned the empyre. xxb. yeres honourably) yf he had not bene polluted with the bloude of innumerable Chriſten men) wyllyngely abandoned the crowne and dygnitie imperiall, and lyued. ix. yeres on his priuate poſſeſſions. And on a tyme beinge deſyred of

Ci. off. 1.

Sextus Aurelius.

Herculius and Galerius, vnto whom he had resigned the empire, to take eftesoones on hym the gouernance, abhorryng it as a pestylence, answered in this wyse: I wold ye did see the herbes, that I haue with myne owne handes sowen and set at Salona, surely ye wolde nat than in this wyse aduyse me.

¶ Also Octauius Augustus, whych in felicitie passed all emperours, deuysed often tymes with his frendes, to haue resygned his auctoritie. And if at that time the Senat had ben as well furnyshed with noble and wyse personages, as it was before the cyuil warres, betweene Cesar and Pompeye, it is to be thought, that he wolde surely haue restored the publyke weale to his pristinate glory. But nowe lette vs see, what is the cause, that Ambytion is so pernycious to a publyke weale.

Ambition why it is il

¶ In myn opinion it is for two causes principally. First for as moche as they, whyche be of that courage and appetite, whan they be in auctoritie, suppose all thyng to be lefull that lyketh them. And also by reson of their preeminence, wolde so be separat frō other, that no man shulde controlle them, or warne theym of theyr enormities, and finally wold do what they lyste withoute contradiction. Wherof do ensewe diuers iniuries and subuertion of iustyce. And this, whiche I haue now said, Tully affirmeth to be tru, saying: Verily it is a greate difficultie, where thou wol-

weldest be aboue all men, to obserue equity. Whiche is the thyng most appropried to iustyce. And shortly after he sayth: The more hygher of courage that a man is, and desyrous of glory, the sooner is he meued to doo thynges agaynst ryght. Seing it was so, in the tyme of Tulli, whan almost euery man, that was in auctorite, had excellent lernyng, (the Romaynes bryngyng vp theyr children in study of moral philosophy) what shal we suppose in our tyme, whan fewe men in auctorite do care for learnynge? Why shulde we thynke to be more iustyce nowe vsed in auctorite, than was in the tyme of Tullie? Is there nat nowe pryuate affection, particular fauour, displesure and hatred, as was at that tyme? I wolde the readers herof, shulde be iudges, examynyng these my wordes with dayly experience.

¶ The seconde cause, that condemneth Ambition, is couetyse of treasure, therewith to maynteine theyr ostentation and vayngory, whyche ambicious persons do call their honour, wherby they be procured to fynde vnlaufull meanes by theyr auctorite, to prouide for suche substaunce, wherewith they maye be nat onely satisfied) they beinge insaciable) but according to theyr own appetite fully fulfilled. Wherfore the philosophers, called Stoici, vsed this sentēce: Great indigence or lacke cometh nat of pouerty, but of great plēty, for he that hath moche, shall nede moche. Couetise

¶ But certes ſuche ambycious perſonnes, may wel conſider, that the magnificence and pompe, whiche they couete, is not ſo moche wondred at, as auarice and collection of money is vniuerſally hated. Wherfore Darius kyng of Perſia, and father to Xerxes, whā he had cōmanded a ſubſidy to be leuyed of his ſubiectes, demāded the chiefe men of the countreys, whether they founde theym ſelfe greued. They anſwerynge, that they were in a metely good caſe, he commaunded the one halfe to be eftſoones reſtored, leſte he of any auaryce ſhulde be ſuſpected By the whiche acte, he ſtablyſched his dignitie, and made it more perfecte.

Plutarch⁹ in apophthegma.

¶ Moreouer, Tullye ſaythe, To take any thynge from an other man, and one man to encreaſe his cōmoditie with an other mans detriment, is more repugnant to nature, thā deathe, than pouertie, peyne, or other thynge that mought happen, eyther to the bodye or other goodes worldly.

Ci. offi. iii.

¶ The true definition of abſtinence and Contynence. Cap. xvi.

ABſtinence and Continencye be alſoo companions of Fortitude, and be noble and excellent vertues, and I can not tell, whether there be any to be preferred before them, ſpecially in men hauyng auctoritie, they beyng the bryddes of two capitall vices,

vices, that is to say, Auarice and Lecherye. Whiche vyces beinge refrayned by a noble man, that lyueth at lyberty and without cõtrollement, procureth vnto hym, besyde the fauour of god, immortall glory. And that cite or realme, whereof the gouernours with these vyces, be lytell or nothing acquaynted, do abyde longe in prosperitie. For as Valerius Maximus saith: where so euer this ferment pestilence of mankynde hath entry, Iniurye reygneth, repproche or infamy is spread, and deuoureth the name of nobilitie. The properties of these .ii. vertues, be in this maner.

¶ Abstinence is, wherby a man refrayneth from any thyng, whiche he may lefully take, for a better purpose. Continence, is a vertue, whiche kepeth the pleasant appetite of manne vnder the yoke of reason. Aristotle, makyng them both but one, describeth them vnder the name of continence, sayinge: He that is continent, forasmoche as he knoweth that couetous desyres be yuell, dothe abandon them, reason perswading him. For this tyme I take abstinence, for the refusynge of money, possessions, or other thyng semblable Continence, the onely forbearyng the vnlefull company of women.

¶ Martius Coreolanus, a noble yong man whiche lyneally descended from Ancus, some tyme kyng of Romaynes, whan he had wone many valyant actes, and atchieued sundrye enterpryses, was accordynge to his merites

commended in the army by Postumius than beinge consulle, and by theyr vniuersall assent was rewarded with all suche honours, as than appertayned to a good warryour: Also with one hundred acres of arable land, the election of ten prisoners, ten horsis apparayled for the warres, one hūdred of oxen and as moch siluer as he mought beare. But of all this wold he take nothing, but one only prisoner, whiche was of his acquayntāce and one courser, whiche always after he vsed in battayle.

Curius. ¶ Marcus Curius, the verye rule and paterne of Fortitude & moderate liuyng, whan the people, called Sammites, whiche hadde warres with the Romains, founde him sytting in his house by the fyre vpon a homely fourme, eatyng his meate in a dysshe of tree, they bryngyng to hym a great summe of gold by the consent of the people, and wondryng at his pouertie, with courtaise language, desyred hym to take that they hadde broughte hym, he therat smiling, said thus vnto them: Ye mynisters of a vayne & superfluous message, shewe you to the Sammites, that Curius had leuer haue dominion ouer theym that be ryche, than he hym selfe to haue rychesse. And as for this golde, whyche ye accounte precious, take it agayn with you, and remembre, that ye can neither vanquisshe me in battayle, nor corrupt me with money.

Tubero. ¶ Quintus Tubero, surnamed Catelius, what

what tyme he was Conſulle, the people in Grece, called Aetoli, ſent to him by theyr ambaſſadours, a great quantitie of ſyluer veſſell, curiouſely wzoughte and grauen. But whan they came to hym, they founde on his table veſſell only of erth. And whan he ſawe them, he erhozted them, that they ſhulde not ſuppoſe, that his contentation in pouertie, ſhulde be with theyr pzeſentes relieued. And with that ſaying, cõmanded them to depart.

Epaminon das.

¶ To Epaminondas, the Theban, being in his tyme, as well in vertue as pzoweſſe, the moſte noble man of all Grece, Artharerſes, kynge of Perſia, to make hym his frende, ſent one of his ſeruauntes to Thebes, with a great quantitie of treſure, whiche ſeruant knowyng his maners, durſte not offre it vnto hym whan he camme, but ſpeakynge to a yonge man, which was famyliar with Epaminondas, gaue vnto hym a great reward, to meue Epaminondas to receiue the kinges pzeſent. Who vneth hearyng the fyzſt wozdes of the yonge man, commaunded the kinges ſeruant to be bzought hi m, vnto whome he hadde theſe wozdes:

Frende, ſhewe to the kynge, that he nedeth not to offre me moneye: foz yf he haue any thynge to do with the Thebanes foz a good purpoſe, he may haue theyr aſſiſtence without any reward e: if the purpoſe be nought, he can not with all the treaſure of the wozlde hope to obteyne it.

¶ Whiche wordes were spoken with suche a grauitie, that the sayde seruaunt, being afeerd, desyred Epaminõdas, that he mought be saufely conuayed out of the citie: whiche he graunted with good wyll, least yf the money were taken away, he mought of the receyuyng therof haue bene suspected. Moreouer, he caused the Thebane, whyche was his frende and companyon, to restore to the messager the money that he had receyued.

Phocion. ¶ Semblable abstinence was there in Phocion, a noble counsaylour of Athenes, vnto whome the ambassadour of the great kynge Alexander, brought fromie theyr mayster a hundred talentes of golde, whiche were of englysshe money .xii. thousande pounde. But before that he herde them speake any thyng, he demaunded of them, why to hym onely the kynge sent so bounteous a reward? And they answered, forasmoche as kynge Alexander iudged hym onely to be a good man and a iust. Than suffre ye me (sayde Phocion) to be and to seme the same mã, that your kynge dothe iudge me, and cary your golde agayne to hym.

¶ To the same Phocion, the ambassadour of Antipater, who succeded the great kyng Alexander in Macedonia) offered to gyue a greate summe of money: whiche Phocion desyrynge, sayd in this wyse: Syens Antipater is not greatter than Alexander, nor his cause better, I do nothyng perceyue, why I

shulde

shuld take any thyng of hym. And whan the Oratour wolde haue had Phocions sonne, to haue taken the money, Phocion answered: If his sonne wolde be lyke vnto hym, he shulde haue no nede, neyther of that money, nor none other. If he wolde be vnlyke vnto hym, and of dissolute maners, neyther Antipaters gyftes, nor none others, were they neuer so great, shulde be sufficient.

¶ By these examples it doth appere, howe good men dyd alway flee from rewardes, al though they mought haue ben lefully taken, whiche in theym was neyther foolysshenes, nor yet rusticitie, but of a prudente consyderation. Forasmoche as bothe by wysedome and experyence they knewe, that he whyche taketh a rewarde before any thynge done, is noo lengar at lybertie, but of a free man is made bonde, bycause he hath taken ernestes for his true endeuour. Also by the takyng, he is become an yuell manne, though before he were good. For yf he receyue it for an yuell purpose, he is than a wretche and detestable: If the matter were good, thanne is he not ryghtwyse in sellyng a good dede, whiche he ought to do thankfully, and without reward

¶ And I doubte not, who so euer is contented with this presente astate, and supposeth felicitie to be in a meane, and all excesse to be perylous, wyll allowe these sentences, and thynke them worthy to be had in remēbrāce, specially of them that be gouernours. For

that realme, or citie, where men in auctorite haue theyr handes open for money, and theyr howses for presentes, is euer in the way to be subuerted. Wherfore Caius Pōtius, prince of Samnites, was wont to say, I wolde god, that fortune had reserued me vnto the tyme, and that I had be than borne whan the Romaines shulde begynne to take gyftes, I shulde thanne not suffre them any longer to rule.

Paulus Emilius.

¶ Paulus Emilius, whan he had vanquisshed kynge Perses, and subdued all Macedonia, brought into the cōmune treasorye of Rome an infinite treasure, that the substāce of that one prince discharged all the Romaines to paye euer after any tare or subsidye. And yet for al that goodes Emilius brought nothing into his owne house, but onely perpetuall renoume.

Scipio Affrican.

¶ Scipio whan he had gotten and destroied the great citie of Carthage, was not therfore the rycher one halfepeny.

¶ By this appereth, that honour resteth not in rychesse, all though some perchaunce wyll saye, that theyr reuenues be small, and that they muste take suche rewardes as be lefull, onely to maynteyne theyr honour: but letts them take hede to the sayinge of Tulli, Nothyng is more to be abhorred, than Iuarice, specially in princes, and in them whiche doo gouerne publyke weales.

Cl. off. ii.

The

¶ The examples of continence, giuen by noble men. Cap. xvii.

NOwe wyll I speake of Continence, whiche is specially in refraynynge or forbearynge the acte of carnall pleasure, wherunto a man is feruently meued, or is at libertie to haue it. Whiche vndoubtedly is a thynge not only difficile, but also wonderfull in a man noble or of great auctorite, but in suche one as it happeneth to be, nedes must be reputed moche vertue and wisedom and to be supposed, that his mynde is inuincible, consyderyng that nothyng so sharpely assayleth a mans mynde, as doth carnall affection, called (by the folowers therof) loue. Wherfore Plato sayth, that the soule of mā whiche by loue is possessed, dyeth in his own body, and lyueth in an other.

¶ The great kyng Alexander, after his first victorye against kynge Darius, hauyng alwayes in his hoost the wyfe of the same Darius, whiche incomparably excelled all other women in beaultie, wolde neuer, after he hadde ones seene her, haue her come in his presence. All be it that he caused her astate styll to be mayntayned, and with as moche honour as euer it was: and to theym, whiche wondrynge at the ladyes beautie, merueyled, why Alexander dydde not desyre to haue with her company, he answered, sayeng: It shuld be to hym a reproche, to be any wyfe

Alexander.

wyfe subdued by the wyfe of hym, whome he had vanquyshed.

Antiochus. ¶ Antiochus, the noble kynge of Asia, in the citie of Ephesum, beheldc a vyrgin (being a Wynchen in the temple of Diana) of excellent beautie, and perceyuyng hym selfe to be rauyshed in the loue of the mayden, hastily and immediatly departed out of the citie, lest loue shuld constrayne hym to violate the virgyne: wysely consyderyng that it was best, to absteyne from doinge battayle with that ennemy, whyche vnethe mought be vanquished, but by flyght onely.

Pompeius ¶ The valyant Pompeye, whan he hadde vanquyshed the kynge Mithridates, and had taken dyuers of his concubines, which in beautie excelled, wolde haue noo carnall knowledge with any of theym: but whan he knewe, that they were of noble lygnage, sente theym vndefyled to theyr parentes and kynnesfolke.

Scipio. ¶ Semblably dyd Scipio, whan he wanne Carthage. For amonge dyuers womenne, whiche were there taken: one moste fayrest of other, was brought vnto him, to do with her his pleasure. But after that she had discouered to hym, that she was affiaunced to a gentylle man, called Indibilis, he caused hym to be sent for, and whan he beheldc the lamentation and lygnes of loue betweene them, he not onely deliuered her to Indibilis, with her raunsome, whiche her frendes

hadde

had payde for her redemption: but also added therto an honorable portion of his own treasure. By the whiche continence and lyberalitie, he wanne the hartes of Indibilis and all his bloude, wherby he the sooner opteyned and wanne the countrey.

¶ Of this vertue be exaumples innumerable as wel of gentils as of christen men: But thesefor this tyme, shall suffise, sauyng for the straungenes of it, I wyll reherse a notable hystory, which is remembred by the moste excellent doctour saynt Hierome.

A wonderful continence in a christē mayd.

¶ Valerian beinge emperour of Rome, and perseruynge the churche, In Egypt was a christen man presented vnto hym, whome he beholdynge to be yonge and lusty, thynkyng therfore to remoue hym from the fayth, rather by veneryall motions, than by sharpnes of tourmentes, cauled hym to be layde in a bedde within a fayre gardein, hauyng about hym all floures of swete odour and moste delectable sauours and perfumes. And thanne cauled a fayre tender yonge woman to be layde by him al naked, who cessed nat swetely and louyngly to embrace and kysse hym, shewynge to hym all pleasant deuyses, to the intent to prouoke hym to fornication. There lacked lyttell, that the yonge man was not vanquyshed, and that the flesshe yelded not to the seruyce of Venus. That perceyuyng the yonge manne, whiche was armed with grace, and seing none other refuge, with his teethe

teeth dyd gnawe of his owne tounge, wherwith he ſuffred ſuche incredyble payne, that therwith the brennyng of voluptuous appetite was vtterly extincte.

¶ In this notable acte, I wote not whiche is to be cõmended, eyther his inuincible courage, in reſyſtyng ſo moche agaynſt nature, or his wyſedome, in ſubduyng the laſſe peyn with the more, and bytynge of that, wherby he mought be conſtrained to blaſphemie god, or renounce his relygion. Sure I am, that he therfore receyued immortall lyfe, and perpetuall glory.

¶ And this I ſuppoſe ſuffiſeth, to perſwade men of good nature, to embrace Continence. I meane not to lyue euer chaſte: but to honour matrimony, and to haue good awayte that they ſuffre nat the ſparkes of concupiſcence growe in great flames, wherwith the wyttes ſhall be dryed vp, and all noble vertues deuoured.

¶ Of conſtance or ſtabilitie. Cap. xviii.

IN buyldynge of a fortreſſe, or other honourable mancion, it ought to be well conſydered, that the cement or morter, wherwith the ſtones be layd, be firm and well byndyng. For if it be brokle, and wyll mouldre awaye with euerye ſhowre of rayne, the buyldyng may not contynue, but the ſtones, nat ſurely couched and mortred, fall

fall away one after an other, and finally the holle house is defaced and falleth in ruine. Semblably, that man, whiche in chyldhode is brought vp in sundry vertues, yf either by nature, or els by custome, he be nat induced, to be alway constant & stable, so that he meue nat for any affectiō griefe or displesur, all his vertues wyll shortly decay, and in the estymation of men be but as a shadow and sone forgotten. For though he haue all the gyftes of nature and fortune, and also is adorned with doctrine and vertue, whyche he in his chyldehode hath acquired with moche trauayle, watche, and studye, and adde not to constance, whan he commeth to the tyme of experience, which experience is as it were the warke of the craftes of man, beinge meued with any priuate affection, or feare of aduersitie, or exteriour damage, wyll omytte any parte of his lernyng or vertue, the estimatiō of his persone immediatly ceasseth amōg perfect warkemen, that is to say, wise men, & fynally being wauerynge or vnstable, what thyng in hym may be commended?

¶ And in one thynge me seemeth that Constance hath equall prayse with iustice: that is to say, that he that is hym selfe iniust, loueth that person, that deleth iustly with him, and contrarywyse, hateth that person that dealeth iniustly, or doth hym wrōg. In lyke wise he, whyche is inconstaunt, extolleth hym, whom he fyndeth constant, and desyreth to haue

Constance equall to iustyce.

haue hym his frende: on the other parte, he is angry with him, whom he proueth inconstant and waueryng, and accounteth hym a beast, and vnworthy company of men: and awaiteth diligently to truste hym with nothyng.

¶ We note in chylderne inconstancye, and lykewyse in women, the one for tendernes of wytte, the other as a naturall syckenes. Therfore men vse in rebukyng a man of inconstance, to call him a childyshe or womanly person. All be it some women now a days be founden more constant than men, and specially in loue towarde theyr husbandes, or els mought there happen to be some wronge inheritours.

¶ Constance is as propre vnto a manne as is reason: And is of suche estimation, that accordyng as it was spoken of a wise man: It were better to haue a constant ennemye, than an inconstant frende. Whereof I my selfe had sufficient experience.

¶ But nowe to declare some experience of Constaunce, wherby the reders may be the more therto prouoked, I wyll reherse some examples therof, out of olde hystories, as I shall happen to remembre them.

¶ After that Sylla had vanquished Marius, and distroyed the parte of his aduersaries, he, with a great numbre of persons, all armed, enuyronned the Senate, intending to compell theym by vyolence to condemne

Marius

Darius for a traitour. Which request none durst gainesaye: Mucyola onely excepte, who beyng therof demanded wolde gyue no sentence. But whan Silla dyd cast therfore on him a cruel countenaunce, he with a constant vysage, and noble courage, said to him: Silla, although thou facest & threatnest me with thy multitude of souldiours, with whome thou haste thus besieged this courte, ye and although thou doest menace me with death neuer so moche, yet shalt thou neuer bryng to passe, that for shedyng a lyttel olde bloude, I shal iudge Darius a traitour, by whom this cytie and all Italye haue ben preserued.

Alexanders confidence.

¶ The constance, that greate kyng Alexander had, in trustyng his frende agaynst fals reporte, saued his lyfe: wherof all menne despaired: for after that noble battaile, wherin he hadde vanquyshed Darius, and taken his treasure, as he passed through Licia beyng sore chafed with feruente heate, and the length of his iourney, he came by the ryuer, called Lydnus, & beholdyng it clere and pleasaunte, and thynkyng to asswage therin the heates that he suffered, wente thereinto naked, and dranke therof: But immediatly, by the excedyng colde, whyche was in that water, his sinewes shranke, and his ioyntes became vnweldy, and as they were dead, and all his hoost beynge discomforted he was conueyed to a cytie thereby, called Tarsum. Whereupon the phisitions assembled to de-

vyse the beste remedy. All were determined to gyue hym one medicyne, and that it shuld be ministred by one Philip, chiefe physicyon with Alexander. In the meane tune Parmenio, one of the greattest capitaynes abouts Alexander, aduertised him by his letters, that he shulde beware of the treason of the sayde Philippe, sayeng: he was corrupted with a greatte somme of money by Darius. Wherwith he beyng nothyng esbaied: helde in his handes the letter and receiuing the medicine, that Philippe gaue hym, at oone tyme delyvered the letter open to Philip, and dranke alsoo the medicine, declaryng therby the constance that was in his frendshyppe. Whiche trust, not onely caused nature the better to warke with the medicine, but also bound so the harte of the Physytion toward him, that he euer after studyed more diligently for the helpe and preseruation of the noble pryncc, that dydde so moche truste him.

Cato. ¶ The Constance of Cato Vticensis was alway unmoueable, in so moche that at sondry tymes, whan he in the Senate egrely defended the publike weale, with vehemēt and longe orations, agaynste the attemptates of ambicious persons, he was by theym rebuked, and commytted to prison: But he therfore not cessyng, but goyng towarde prison, detected to the people as he wente, the vnlefull purposes & enterpryses of them, by whō he was punyshed, with the peryll that was immi-

imminente to the publyke weale, whyche he dyd with suche courage and eloquence, that as well the Senate as the people drewe soo about hym, that his aduersaryes were faine for feare to discharge hym.

¶ Who can sufficiently commende this noble manne Cato, whan he redeth in the warkes of Plutarche of his excellente courage and vertue? Howe moche worthier hadde he ben, to haue had Homere the trumpe of his fame immortal, than Achilles? who for a litell wenche contended with Agamemnon only: where Cato for the conseruation of the weale publyke contended, and also resysted agaynste Julius Cesar and the great Pompey, and not only against theyr menaces, but also agaynst theyr desyres, and offres of alyaunce. Whereof I wold gladly haue made a remembrance in this warke, yf the volume thereby, shoulde not to moche haue increased and becomen vnhandsome.

¶ Vndoubtedly constaunce is an honourable vertue, as inconstance is reprocheful and odious. Wherfore that a manne, whiche is mutable for euery occasion, muste nedes often repent hym, and in moche repentaunce is not onely moche foly, but also greate detrimente: whiche euery wise man wyll eschue, yf he can. Wherfore to gouernours nothyng is more propre, than to be in theyr liuyng stable and constant.

¶ The true signification of Temperaunce, a mozall vertue. Cap. xix.

THis blessed companye of vertues, in this wyse assembled, foloweth Temperance, as a sad and discrete matrone and reuerent gouernesse, awaytyng diligently, that in any wyse voluptie oz cõcupiscence haue no pzeeminence in the soule of man.

Arist. ethi. ¶ Aristotelle defyneth this vertue, to be a mediocritie in the plesures of the bodye, specially in tast and touchyng. Therfoze he that is temperate, fleeth pleasures voluptuous, and with the absence of them is not discontented, and frome the pzesence of theym, he wyllyngely absteyneth. But in myne oppinio Plotinus, the wonderfull phyloſopher, maketh an excellent definition of temperaunce, saying: that the pzopzetie oz office therof is to couaite nothynge, whyche maye be repented, also not to excede the boundes of mediocritie, and to kepe desyze vnder the yocke of reason.

Temperat incõtinẽce. ¶ He that pzactiseth this vertue, is called a temperate man, and he that dothe contrarye therto, is named temperate: betwene whom and a persone incontinent, Aristotell maketh this diuersitie, that he is intemperat, whiche by his owne election is ladde, suppolyng the pleasure that is pzesente oz (as I moughte saye) in vre, shoulde alwaye be folowed. But the person incontinent suppoleth not so, and yet he

yet he notwithstandyng doth folowe it. The same auctour also maketh a dyuersitie, betwene hym that is temperate, and hym that is continente, saying: The continente man is suche one, that nothyng wyll doo for bodely pleasure, whyche shall stande agaynste reason. The same is he, whiche is temperat, sayyng that the other hathe corrupte desyres, whiche this man lacketh.

¶ Also the temperate manne delyteth in nothyng, contrary to reason. But he that is cõtinent delyteth: yet wyll he not be lad against reason. Finally to declare it in fewe wordes, we maye wel call hym a Temperate manne, that desyreth the thynge whiche he ought to desyre, and as he ought to desyre, & whan he ought to desyre. Notwithstandynge there be dyuers other vertues, whiche do seme to be as it were companyons with temperãce. Of whom (for the exchuing of tediousnes) I wil speke now onely of two, moderation, and sobrietie, whyche no man (I suppose) doubteth to be of suche efficacie, that without thẽ no mã may attayne vnto wysedome: and by theym wysedome is soneste espied.

¶ Of Moderation a spyece of temperaunce. Capi. xx.

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rennyng, paſſyng the gole, is accounted but raſchenelle: ſo rennyng halfe waye is repꝛoued foꝛ ſlowneſſe. In lyke wiſe, woꝛdes and actes be the paces, wherin the witte of man maketh his courſe, and moꝛeration is in ſtede of the gole, whiche yf he paſſe ouer, he is noted eyther of pꝛeſumption, oꝛ of foole hardyneſſe, yf he come ſhoꝛte of the purpoſe, he is contemned as dulle and vnapt to aſſayꝛes of greate impoꝛtance. This vertue ſhall beſt be percеyued by rehercyng of examples ſhewed by noble menne, whiche is in effecte but dayly experience.

¶ Fabius Maximus, tꝛing fyue times Cõſul, perceiuyng his father, his graundfather, and greate graundefather, and dyuers other his auncetours, to haue had often times that mooſte honourable dignitie, whan his ſonne by the vniuerſall conſent of the people ſhuld be alſo made cõſul, he earneſtly intreated the people, to ſpare his ſonne, and to gyue to the houſe of Fabius, as it were a vacation time from that honour: Not foꝛ any miſtruſt that he hadde in his ſonnes vertue and honeſtie, but that his moderation was ſuche, that he wolde not that excellente dignitie ſhoulde alwaye continue in one familie.

¶ Scipio Affricanus the elder, whan the ſenate and people had purpoſed, that accoꝛdynge to his merites he ſhulde haue certaine ſtatues oꝛ ymages ſet in all courtes and places of aſſembly. Yf they wolde haue ſet his

image

image in triumphant apparayle within the capitole, and haue graunted to hym to haue ben Consul and Dictator durynge his lyfe, not withstandyng he wolde not suffer, that any of them shulde be decreed, eyther by the acte of the senate, or by the peoples suffrage, wherin he shewed him selfe, to be as valiant in refusing of honours, as he was in his actes, wherin he had them well deserued.

¶ There is also moderation in tolleration of fortune of euerye sorte, whyche of Tulli is called equabilitie. whyche is, whan there semeth to be alway oone vysage and countenaunce, neyther changed nor for prosperitie nor for aduersitie. Tolleration of fortune good and badde

¶ Metellus, called Numidicus, in a commune sedicion beyng banished frome Rome, and abydynge in Asia, as he hapned to sytte with noble menne of that countrey, in beholdyng a greate playe, there were letters delyuered hym, wherin he was assertayned, that by the hole consent of the senate and people, his retourne into his countrey was graunted. Notwithstandyng, that he was of that tidynges exceedynge ioyfull, yet he remeued not, vntyll the playes were ended, nor anye man sittyng by hym, mought perceiue in his countenaunce any token of gladnes.

¶ Whan the great king Antiochus, whiche long time had in his dominion all Asia, whyche is accounted to be the thirde parte of the worlde, was at the last vanquished by Lucius

Scipio, and had lost the moze part of his em-
pire, and was assigned but to a smal portiō,
vsed his foztune so moderately, that he gaue
gret thankes to the Romains, that beyng de-
liuered of soo greate burdon and charge, he
moze easely mought gouerne a littel dominiō

¶ Alexander beyng electe and made empe-
rour of Rome at. xvi. yeres of his age so ex-
celled all other in vertue, that the senate and
people woide haue him called, the great Ale-
xander, and father of the countreye, whiche
of al names was hyghest, he with a wonder-
full grauitie refused it, saying: It behoued,
that those names were obteyned by merites
and rypenesse of yeres.

¶ The same pzynce also wold not suffer his
empzesse to vse in her apparayle any richer
stones than other ladies, and if any were gy-
uen her, he eyther caused them to be soide, oz
els gaue theym vnto Temples, affyrmynge
that the exaumples of pompe and inozdinate
expenlys, shoulde not pzocede of the Empe-
rours wyfe.

¶ And whan foz the honoure, that he dydde
to the senate and lawes, his wyfe and his
mother rebuked hym, sayinge: he shoulde
bzynge the emperialle maiestye into to lowe
astate, he aunswered: It shulde be the surer,
and continue the longer.

Moderation of wzathe.

¶ There is also a Moderation to be vsed
against wzathe oz appetite of vengeaunce.

¶ Hadziane the emperoure, whyle he was

but a

but a priuate persone, bare towarde a capitayne greuous displeasure, who afterwarde hearynge, that he was made emperour, was in greate feare, leaste Hadriane wolde be auenged. But whan he came to the Emperours presence, he nothynge dyd or sayde to hym, but onely these wordes: Thou hast wel escaped. By whyche wordes he well declared his moderation, and also that who soo euer putteth on the habite of a cõmune person or gouernour, it shal not beseme him to reuenge priuate displeasures.

¶ Architas, whan he had ben a longe space out of his countrey, and at his retourne fond his possessyons and goodes destroyed and wasted, sayde to his balyfe: I wolde surely punyshe the, yf I shoulde not be angry.

¶ Moche lyke dydde Plato. For whan his seruaunte hadde offended hym greuously, he desyred Speusippus his frende to punisshe hym, leaste (sayde he) yf I beate him, I shuld happe to be angry. Wherin Plato deserued more praise than Architas, in as moche as he obserued paciente, and yet dyd not suffre the offence of his seruaunte to be vnpunyshed. For most often tymes the omittyng of correction redoubleth a trespace.

¶ Semblable moderation and wysedome Aul⁹ Gell. Aulus Gellius remembreth to be in Plutarche the philosopher, whyche was maister to Traiane the emperoure. It hapned that the bondeman of Plutarche had committed

some grieuous offence: wherfore his mayster willed, that he shulde be sharpely punyshed: and commaundyng hym to be striped naked, caused an other of his seruauntes in his presence to beate hym. But the slaue, who as it semid was learned, whyle he was in beating cried out on Plutarche, and in maner of reproche sayde vnto hym: Howe agreeth this with thy doctrine, that preachest so moche of pacience, & in all thy lessons reprouest wrath: and nowe contrary to thyne owne teachyng, thou arte all inflamed with wrath, and clene from the pacience, which thou so moch praisest? Vnto whom Plutarche, withoute any chaunge of countenaunce, aunswered in this fourme: Thou embraydest me causeles with wrath and impacience, I pray the, what perceiuest thou in me, that I am angry or out of pacience? I suppose (excepte I be moche deceyued) thou seest me not stare with myne eyen, or my mouth imbosed, or the coloure of my face chaunged, or any other deformitie in my persone or gesture, or that my wordes be clwykte, or my voyce louder than modestie requyreth, or that I am vnstable in my gesture or motion, whiche be the signes & euident tokens of wrath & impacience. Wherfore sayd he to the correctour, sens he can not proue, that I am yet ãgry, in the meane time, while he and I do dispute of this matter, and vntyl he vtterly do cesse of his presumption and obstinacy, loke that thou styll beate hym.

Verily

¶ Verily in myne opinion Plutarche herin declared his excellent wysedom and grauitie, as well in his exaumple of pacience, as also in subduing the stubborne courage of an obstinat seruaunt. Whiche hystorye shal be expedient for gouernours to haue in remembrance, that whan accordyng to the lawes, they do punysshe offendours, they them selfes be not thauked or meued with wrathe. But (as Tulli saith) be like to the lawes, whiche be prouoked to punysshe not by wrath or displesure, but only by equitie. And immediatly the same auctour gyueth an other noble precepte, cõcerning moderation in punyshment, saying: In correctyng, wrathe is principally to be forboden. for he that punysheth whyle he is angry, shal neuer kepe that meane, whyche is betwene to moche and to lyttell.

Of.i.

¶ Of sobrietie in diete. Cap. xxi.

VErily I nothynge doute, but that the more part of the readers of this warke wyl take in good parte all that is before wrytten, consyderyng the benefyte, and also the ornamente, that those vertues, of whom I haue spoken, of good reason & congruence must be to them, in whom they shall be planted & do continue. But I know wel, that this chapiter, whiche now ensueth, shall vneth be thankfully receyued of a fewe readers, ne shal be accoũted worthy to be rad of any

any honourable perſon, conſideryng that the mattier therin conteyned is ſoo repugnant & aduerſe to that pernicious cuſtome, wherin of longe tyme men haue eſtemed to be the moze parte of honour, in ſo moche as I verry well knowe that ſome ſhal accounte great preſumption in this myne attemptat, in writyng agaynſt that, whiche hath bene ſo long vſed. But ſens I haue taken vppon me to wryte of a publyke weale, whiche taketh his begynnyng at the exaumple of theym that be gouernours, I wyll not let, for the diſpraiſe gyuen by theym, whyche be abuſed, with all ſtudye and diligence to diſcriue the auncient temperaunce, and moderation in diet, called Sobrietie, or in a moze general terme Frugalitie: The acte whereof is at this daye as infrequent or oute of vſe amonge all ſortes of men, as the termes be ſtraunge vnto theym, whyche haue not ben well inſtructed in latin.

Frugalitie.

¶ The noble emperoure Auguſtus, who in all the reſydue of his lyfe, was for his moderation and temperance excellently cõmended, ſuffred no litle repzoche, for as moche as he in a ſecrete couper or banket, hauing with him ſixe noble men his frendes, and ſixe noble women, & nampng him ſelfe at that tyme Apollo, and the other men and womenne the names of other goddis and goddeſſis, fared ſumptuouſly and delicatly, the citie of Rome at that tyme beynge vered with ſcarcytie of grayne: he therfore was rente with curſes

and

and rebukes of the people: in so moche as he was openly called Apollo the turmentour, saying also that he with his goddes had deuoured their corne, with whiche lybertie of speche beynge more perswaded than discontented, from that forth he vsed suche a frugalite or moderation of diete, that he was contented to be serued at one meale with three dishes, or syxe at the moste: whiche also were of a moderate price, and yet therin he vsed suche sobrenes, that either he hym selfe wold not sytte, vntyl they whiche dined with him, had eaten a good space: or els yf he sat whan they dyd, he wolde aryse a great space, or any of them had lefte eatyng. And for what purpose, suppose ye, dyd this emperour in this wyse, in whom was neuer spot of auarice or vile courage? Certes for two causes. Fyrste, knowyng the inconueniences, that alway do happen by ingurgitations and excessyue feedynges: Also that lyke as to hym was committed the souerayne gouernaunce of all the worlde, so wolde he be to all men the general exampie of lyuynge.

¶ Nowe what damages do happen among men by immoderate eatynge and drynkyng, we be euery day taught by experience: but to bryng them (as it were to mens eien) I wyll set them out euidently.

Galen' de sa. tuenda. lib. v.

¶ Fyrste, of lacrete or fulnesse be ingendred paynefull diseases and sicknesses, as squynces, distillations, called reumes or poses, hemorroydes,

morpoydes, great bledynges, crampes, duſkenelle of ſight, the tiſike, and the ſtiche, with many other that come not nowe to my remembraunce. Of to moche drynkynge procedeth dropſies, wherwith the bodye, and often tymes the vyſage, is ſwollen & defaced, beaſtly fuyſt, wherwith the myndes be perylſhed, and of all other moſte odious, ſwyn dronkennes, wherwith both the body and ſoule is deformed, and the fygure of man is as it were by inchauntement tranſformed into an vgly and lotheſome ymage. Wherfore the Lacedemones ſomtyme purpoſely cauſed the ruſticall ſeruantes to be made very dronk, and ſo to be brought in at theyr commune diners to the intent that yonge men, beholdynge the deformitie and haſty fury of them, that were dronkardes, ſhoulde lyue the more ſobrely, and ſhulde eſchewe dronkenneſſe, as a thyng foule and abhominable.

¶ Alſo Pittacus (one of the ſeuen ſages of Grece) dyd conſtitute a lawe, that they, whyche beyng dronke dydde offende, ſhoulde ſuſtayne double puniſhement: that men ſhoulde the more diligently forbeare to be dronke.

What profite is in ſobrietie, and what diſcommoditie happeth by the contrary.

¶ It is ryght eudente to euerye wyſe man, who at any time hath haũted affaires, wherynto was required contemplation or ſerious ſtudy, that to a man, hauyng due concoction and digeſtion, as is expediente, ſhall in the mornyng faſtyng, or with a lyttell refection, not onelye haue his inuencyon quycker, his iugement

tudgements perfecter, his tonge redyar, but alsoo his reason fresher, his eare moze attentife, his remembzaunce moze sure, and generally all his powers and wittes moze effectuall, and in better astate, than after he hath eaten abundauntly. And I suppose foz this cause, the auncient courtes of recozde in this realme, haue euer benne vsed to be kepte only before none. And surely the consyderation is wonderfull excellent, & to be (as I mought saye) superstytiously obserued: the reasons why, be so apparant, that they nede not here to be rehersed.

¶ Pythagoras was neuer sene to eate any fysshe oz flesshe, but onely herbes and fruites. Semblably dyd many other, who exactly folowed his doctrine. Wherfoze it was supposed, that they the rather excelled all other, in fyndyng out the secretes and hid knowleges of nature, which to other were impenetrable.

¶ Plato, oz rather Socrates, Plato indictynge, in his seconde booke of the publyke weale, wylleth, that the people of his cytie, whyche he wolde constitute, shoulde be norished with barly bzede and cakes of wheat, and that the residue of their diete shoulde be salte, olyues, chese and lykes, and moze ouer woztes, that the fieldes doo bzinge fozthe, foz their potage: but he addeth to, as hit were to make the diner moze delicate, fygges, beanes, myztil beries, & beche mast, whiche they shuld rost on the coles, and dzynke to it water moderatly.

derately. So (sayth he) they liuyng restfully and in helth vnto extreme age, shall leaue the same maner of liuing vnto their successours.

¶ I knowe well, some readers, for this diete appoynted by Socrates, wyll scorne hym, accountyng hym for a foole, who not onely by the answere of Appollo: but also by the consente of all excellente wryters, that folowed hym, and the vniuersall renoume of all people, was approued to be the wyselt manne of all Grecia.

¶ Certes I haue knowen men of worshyp in this realme, whiche, duryng theyr youthe dranke for the more parte water.

¶ But here menne shall not note me, that I write this, as who sayethe, that noble men in this realme, shoulde lyue after Socrates diete, wherin hauyng respecte to this tyme and region, they mought perchaunce fynde occasion to reproue me. Surely like as the excesse of fate is to be iustely reproued, so in a noble man moche pinching and nygardeshyppe of meate and drynke is to be discommended.

Nigardeshyppe.

¶ I can not commende Telius Pertinax, who beyng emperour of Rome, wolde haue his gestes serued with a plante of lettyse, deuided in two partes: and except some thing were sent him, he wold appoint nyne pound weight of flesshe vnto thre messes, and if any dysshe hapned to be brought to him, he caused it to be set vp vntyll the nexte day.

¶ I am ashamed to remembre, that he wo ld

sende

sende to his frendes, two mozsels of meate, a piece of puddyng, oz the carkaisse of a capon. This was but mysery and wzetched nygardshyp in a man of suche honour.

¶ In lyke maner, who wyll nat haue in extreme detestation, the insatiable gluttony of Vitellius, Fabius Gurges, Apicius, and dyuers other, to whiche carmozantes, neyther lãd, water, ne ayze, mought be sufficiẽt:

¶ Neyther the curiosite and wanton appetite of Heliogabalus, emperour of Rome, is of any wyse man allowed, who beinge at Rome, oz ferre from the sea, wolde eate only sea fyshe: And whan he soiourned nyghe to the sea, he wold touche no fyshe, but whyche was taken out of the ryuer of Tyber, oz other places of equall oz of moze distaunce. Also he wolde haue dyshes of meate made of camelles heeles, the combes of cockes newly cutte, the tungues of pecockes and nyghtyngales, partriches egges, and other thynges harde foz to come by: wherto be no englyshe names founden (as I suppose) apt to the true signification.

¶ Mozeouer, although I dyspzayse nygardshyp and vicious scarsitie, yet in these numbze of dyshes, whyche I haue commended, I desyze not, to haue therin meates foz any occasyon to moche sumptuous. Foz in one oz two dyshes may be employed as moche money as in twenty, perchance as good oz better in eatynge. Whereof there remay-

eeth a noble example of Cleopatra, doughter to Ptholomee, late kyng of Egypt, whō Cesar in his life held for his Cōcubine. The came lady Antony, (with whome Octauian deuided the empire (loued also paramours, abandonyng his wyfe, whyche was syster to Octauyan. And the warres betwene him and Octauyan, cessynge by a lyttell space (he durynge that tyme) lyued in moste prodygall ryote, and thynkyng all thyng in the sea, the lande, and the ayre to be made for satisfyinge his gluttonye, deuoured all flesshe and fysshe that mought be any where founden. Cleopatra, disdaynyng to be vanquyshed in any excesse by a Romayne, layde a wager with Antony, that she her selfe wold receiue into her body at one supper, the value of fifty thousande poundes, whyche to Antonye was thought in a maner to be impossible. The wager was put into the handes of Numatius Plancus, a noble Romain. The next day Cleopatra prepared for Antony a ryght sumptuous supper, but thereat Antony nothyng meruayled, knowyng the value therof by his accustomed fare, than the quene smylyng, called for a goblette, wherinto she dyd powre a quantitie of very tarte vineger, and taking a perle, whiche hyng at one of her eares, quickely dyd let it falle into the vinegre, wherin being shortly dissolued (as is the nature of the perle) she immediately dranke it. And although she had vanquished Antony,

accor-

accordyng to her wager, the perle without any doubte, beinge of the value of. l. M. li. yet had she lykewyse drunken an other perle of lyke value, whiche was hangynge at her other eare, had not Munatius Plancus, as an indifferent Judge, forthwith gyuen iugement, that Antony was all redy vanquished.

Macrobius satu. li. 9. Plin. li. 19. ca. 35.

¶ I haue reherced this hystory, wrytten by Macrobius, and also Pliny, to the entente, that the vanity in sumptuous feasting shuld be the better expressed.

¶ Androcides (a man of excellent wysdom) wrate vnto the great kynge Alexander an epistell, desyryng him to refrayn his intemperance, wherin he sayd: Noble prince, whan thou wylt drynke wine, remembre than, that thou drynkest the bloude of the earth. Signifyeng therby (as I suppose) the might, and power of wyne, and also warnyng Alexander, of the thyrst or appetite of bloude, whiche wold ensue by his intemperate drinking. For Pliny that wrytyth this hystory) sayth immedyately: If Alexander had obeyed the preceptes of Androcides, he had neuer slayne his frendes in his drunkennesse. For vndoutedly it may be sayd with good ryght, that there is nothing to the strēgth of mans body more profitable than wine, ne to voluptuous appetites more pnicious, if measure lacketh.

Plin. li. 14. natur. hist. cap. 5.

¶ Also it is very truly and properly wrytten of Propertius the poete, in this sentence folowyng or lyke.

¶ By wyne beauty fadeth, & age is defaced, Wyne maketh forgotten, that late was imbraced.

¶ Moreouer, Salomon in his boke named Ecclesiastes, calleth that countreye happye, wherof the gouernors do eate in theyr time. And what shal we suppose is theyr tyme, but onely that, whiche nature and the vniuersal consent of all people hath ordeyned? And of what space is that tyme? But onely that, whyche suffyseth to the abundant sustentation and not oppression of nature, ne letteth any parte of theyr necessary affayres aboute the publike weale.

¶ Of sapience, and the definition therof. Capit. xxii.

Albeit that some men, whyche haue hytherto radde this boke, wyll suppose, that those vertues, whereof I haue treated, be sufficient to make a gouernour vertuous and excellent: yet nethelesse for as moche as the effect of myne enterprise in this warke, is, to expresse, as farrefurthe as god shall instructe my poore wytte, what thynges doo belonge to the makyng of a perfecte publike weale, whyche well nygh maye no more be without an excellent gouernour, than the vniuersall course of nature maye stande or be permanent, without one chiefe disposer and meuer, which is ouer all supre-

emi-

eminent in power, vnderstanding, and goodnes. Wherfore bycause in gouernance be included Dyspolition and Order, whiche cannot be without souerayne knowledge, procedyng of wysedome, in a more elegant worde called Sapience. Therfore I wyll nowe declare, as moche as my lyttell wyte doth cõprehende of that parte of Sapyence, that of necessitie must be in euery gouernour, of a iuste or perfecte publyke weale.

¶ The noble philosopher, and moste excellẽt oratour Licero, saith in this wise, Sapience is the sciẽce of thinges diuine & humain which consydereth the cause of euery thyng, by reson wherof that, whych is diuine she followeth, that which humain, she estemeth far vnder the goodnes of fortune. Ci. tul. 4. 3.

¶ This defynition agreeth well with the gift of sapience, that god gaue to Salomon, kyng of Israell, who asked onely wysedom, to gouerne therwith his realme. But god, whyche is the fountayne of sapience, graciously ponderyng the yonge princes petition, whyche procedd of an apte inclination to vertue, with his owne moste bountcous liberalitie, whych he purposed to employ on hym, for the entiere loue that he had to his father: he therefore infused in hym plentye of all wysedome and coumyng, in thynges as well naturall as supernaturall: as it appereth by the warkes of the same kyng Salomon, wherin be well nygh as many wyse-

domes, as there be sentences. And in myne opynion, one thyng is specially to be noted. ¶ Kyng Dauid, father to Salomon, was a man of a rare and meruailous strength, in so moch, as he hym self repoꝛteth in the boke of kynges, beinge a chylde, and carienge to his bꝛetherne sheꝛp dyner, where they kepte theyꝛ cattell, slewe fyꝛste a greate beare, and after a lyon, which fierce and hungry assauted hym, although he were vnarmed: and whether he had any weapon oꝛ no, it is vncertayne, sens he maketh therof no mencion. Also of what pꝛowes he was in armes, and howe valiaunt and good a capitayne in battayle, it may sufficiently appere to them that wyl rede his noble actes and atchieuances in the bokes befoꝛe remembꝛed. Wherein no good catholyke man wyll any thynge doubt, thoughe they be meruaylous. Yet not withstandyng all his strength and puissance was not of suche effecte, that in the longe tyme of his reygne, whyche was by the space of. xl. yeres, he coulde haue any tyme vacant from warres. But alwaye had eyther contynuall battayle with the Philistyes, oꝛ elles was molested with his owne chyldꝛen, and suche as ought to haue bene his frendes. Cõtrary wyse, his sonne Salomon, of whome there is no notable mention made, that he shewed any commendable feate, concernyng martiall pꝛowesse, sauynge the furnyture of his garrisons with innumerable men of warre,

hoꝛses

horses and charyottes, whyche proueth not hym to be valiant and stronge, but only prudente: after in a lyttell bykerynge with the Philistiens, in the begynnyng of his reygne, contynued in peace without any notable bataylle, or molestation of any persone, wherfore he is named in scripture, Rex pacificus, whyche is in englyshe, The peasyble kynge. And onely by sapience soo gouerned his realme, that though it were but a lytell realme in quantitie, yet it excelled incomparably all other in honour and rychesse. In so moch as syluer was at that tyme in the citie of Jerusalem, as stones in the strete. Wherfore it is to be noted, that Sapience in the gouernāce of a publyke weale, is of a more efficacye, than strength and puissance.

¶ The auctorytie of Sapience is well declared by Salomō in his prouerbes, saying: By me kynges do reigne, and makers of lawes discerne thynges that be iuste. By me prynces do gouerne, and men hauing power and auctoritie, do determyne Justice. I loue all theym that loue me, & who that watcheth to haue me, shall fynde me. With me is both rychesse and honour, stately possessions and Justice. Better is the fruite that commeth of me, than golde and stones that be precious.

¶ The same kynge sayth in his booke, called Ecclesiastice: A kynge without sapience shall lose his people, and cities shall be inhabyted by the wytte of them that be prudent.

Whyche sentence was verified by the sonne and successour of the same kyng Salomon, called Roboam, to whom the said boke was written, who neglecting the wise and vertuous doctrine of his father, contemned the sage counsayle of auncient men, and imbraced the lyght perswasions of yonge men and flatterers, whereby he loste his honour, and brought his realme in perpetuall diuision.

¶ The empire of Rome (whose begynnyng, prosperitie, and desolation seemeth to be a myrrour and exaumple to all other realmes and countreys) declareth to them that exactly beholde it, of what force and value Sapience is to be estemed, beinge begun with shepardes, fleinge the wrathe and displeasure of theyr maysters.

Diodorus Siculus. li. pri.

¶ Romulus, duryng the tyme of his reigne (whiche was .xxxvii. yeres) nothynge dydde enterprise, without the auctoritie and consent of the fathers, whom he hym self chase to be Senatours. And fynally, as longe as the Senate continued in the citie of Rome, and retayned theyr auctoritie, which they receyued of Romulus, and was increased by Tullus Hostilius, the thyrde kynge, they wonderfully prospered and also augmented their empire ouer the more part of the world But soone after the emperour Constantine had abandoned the citie, and translated the Senate frome thens to Constantinople, and that fynally the name and auctoritie of the

Senate,

senate was by lytell and lytell exhaust, by the
gligence and folye of ignorant emperours,
not onely that mooste noble citie, heade and
princesse of the worlde, and fountayn of all
vertue and honour, fell into moste lamenta-
ble ruine, but also the maiesty of the empire
decayed vtterly, so that vnethe a lyttell sha-
dowe therof nowe remaynyth, whiche who
so beholdeth and conferreth it with Rome,
whan it florished, according as it is left in re
mēbrāce by noble writers, he shal vneth kepe
teares out of his eien, beholding it now as a
rotten shepecote in comparison of that citie
noble and triumphaunt. O poore and myse-
rable citie, what sundry tormentes, exilios,
subuertions, depopulations, and other cupll
aduentures hath happed vnto the, sens thou
were byreft of that noble court of Sapiēce,
whose auctoritie if it had alway continued,
beyng also confirmed in the faith and true re
ligyon of Christe, god beynge with the pleas-
sed, thou couldest neuer haue ben thus deso-
late vnto the fynall consummation and ende
of the worlde.

¶ I doute not, but it is wel knowen to euc-
ry Catholike man, that hath the liberall vse
of reason, that all maner of vnderstandyng
and knowlege, wherof procedeth perfect o-
peration, do take theyr original of that high
sapience, whiche is the operatrice of all thin-
ges. And therefore Salomon or Philo, or
who so made the boke called Sapientia, made

his prayer to god in this wyse.

¶ Gyue to me good lorde, Sapience, that sytteth by thy throne. And in the later ende of the prayer he sayethe: Sende her from the seate of thy holynes, that she maye be with me, and labour with me, and that I maye knowe what may be accepted with the.

Muses what they do signifye

¶ Orpheus (oone of the eldeste poetes of Grece) affirmeth in his hymnes, that the muses were begoten betwene Iupiter and Memory. Whythe saying well understand, and exactly tried, shall appere manifestly to agree with the saying of the wyse man, conteyned in the sayd prayer late rehersed.

¶ Eustathius the expositour of Homere, sayth: Musa is the knowlege of the soule, and is a thyng diuine, as the soule is.

¶ But synally, as by old autors a man may aggregate a definition, that whyche is called in greke and latine Musa, is that part of the sowle, that inducethe and moueth a man to serche for knowlege, in the which motion is a secrete and inexplicable delectation. Albeit, bycause knowlege is in sundry wyse distributed, and the nombre of nyne amonge olde authours was alwaye reherced, where they spake of a multitude, as it shall appeere to theym that rede Homere and Vergill. Therfore there were dyuised to be nyne Muses, whyche also for the resemblance of theyr dispolition, were fained by the poetis to be nine dyrgins, that fyrst inuented all lyberal scien-

ces:

ers: but the other oppynion approcheth more nere vnto the trouth, and agreeth better vnto my purpose.

¶ Wherefore Jupiter was alwaye taken of the poetes and philosophers for the supreme god, whyche was the gyuer of lyfe, and creatour of all thinges, as appereth in all theyr warkes, wherfore somtime they cal him omnipotēt, somtime the father of goddis and of mē, so that vnder that name they knowleged to be a very god, though they honoured him not, as on onli god, as thei ought to haue don

¶ But nowe Orpheus saying, that the muses proceded of Jupiter and memory, may be in this wyse interpreted, That god almyghty infuded sapience into the Memorye of man: for to the acquyringe of science belongeth vnderstandyng and memorye, whyche as a treasory hath power to retayne, and also to erogate and dystribute, whan opportunitie happeth. And for the excellency of this thyng, some noted to be in mans sowle a diuyne substance. As Pythagoras, or some of his scholers, wryting his sentence, sayethe in this wyse speakyng to man:

¶ Now in thy self haue thou good cōfidēce
Sens mortall men be of the kynde diuine,
In whose nature a reuerent excellence
Appereth clere, whiche al thyng done dcfine.

¶ Whyche sentence of Pythagoras, is nat

reiected

eelected neyther of Plato, which approched nexte vnto the catholike writers, nor of dy-nines, whiche interprete holye scripture, ta-kyng the sowle for the image and similitude of god.

Science frō whense it procedeth. Plato in Timeus. Plato in Theage.

¶ Moze ouer, Plato affirmeth, that there is sette in the soule of man, cōmyng into the worlde, certayn spices, or as it were sedes of thynges, and rules of artes or sciences. Wherfore Socrates, in the boke of science, resembleth hym selfe to a mydwyfe, saying, In teachyuge ponge men, he dyd putte into theym no science, but rather brought forthe that, whiche all redy was in theym; lyke as the mydwyfe broughte not in the chylde, but being conceyued, dyd helpe to bringe it forth: And lyke as in houndes is a power or dispo-sition to hunt, In horses and greyhoundes an aptitude to runne swiftely, so in the sow-les of menne is ingenerate a leme of science, whyche with the myxture of a terrestryall substaunce is obfuscate, or made darke. But where there is a perfect mayster prepared in tyme, the brightnes of the science appereth polyte and clere, lyke as the powre and apti-tude of the beastes before reherse d, appered not to the vttermost, except it be by Exercise prouoked, and that slouthe and dulnesse, be-inge plucked from them by Industry, be in-duced vnto the contynuall acte: whyche as Plato affyrmeth, is proued also in the may-ster and the disciple.

Dome

¶ Semblably the forsayde Socrates, in Platos boke of sapience, saith to one Theages, Neuer man lerned of me auy thyng, all though by my companye, he became wyser, I onely exhortyng, and the good spyryte inspyrynge.

¶ Whyche wonderfull sentence, as me seemeth, may well accorde with our catholyke faythe, and be receyued into the commentaries of the most perfect diuynes. For as well that sentence, as all other before rehersed, do compyobate with holy Scripture, that god is the fountayne of Sapience, lyke as he is the souerayne begynnyng of all generation.

Sapience frō whense it procedeth.

¶ Also it was wonderfullye well expressed, of whom Sapience is ingendred, by a poete named Affranius, whose verses were sette ouer the porche of the Temple, where the senate of Rome moste commonly assembled. Whyche verses were in this maner,

Vsus me genuit, mater peperit Memoria.
Sophiam me Graii uocant, uos Sapientiā.

Whyche in Englysshe maye be in this wyse translated,

Memory hyght my mother, my father Experyence.
Greekes calle me Sophy, you name me Sapyence.

¶ By vse or experience, in these verses expressed, the poete intended, as well those actes, whych we our selfe daily do practyse, as also theym, whiche beynge done by other in tyme

tyme passed, for the fruite or vtilitie, whiche therof succeded, were allowed and also prouued to be necessary. And the cause, why the poete conioyneth Experience and Memorye togyther (as it were in a lefull matrymonye, Experience bygettyng, and Memory alway producyng that incomparable fruite, called Sapience) is, for that Memory in her operation properly succedeth Experiẽce for that, whyche is presently doone, we perceyue, that whyche is to come, we coniecte or diuyne: but that, whiche is passed, onely we haue in our memory. For as Aristocle declareth wõderfully in an exaumple, In the pryncypalle sense of Man, there is conceyued an ymage or fygure of a thynge, whyche by the same sense is perceyued, as long as it is retayned entiere or holle, and as I mought saye, consolydate, pure, manyfeste, or playne, and without blemmyshe in suche wyse, that in euery parte of it, the mynde is styred or occupied, and also by the same mynde, it maye be thoroughely perceyued and knowen, nat as an ymage in it selfe, but as representynge an other thyng. This is properly Memorye. But yf the hole ymage or fygure be nat retayned in the mynde, but parte therof onely remayneth, parte is put out, eyther by the lengthe of tyme, or by some other myschap or iniurye, so that it can neyther bringe the mynde effectoones vnto it, nor it can be called agayne of the mynde, as often as by that

Aristotelis de memoria & reminiscentis, lib. ii.

portion,

portion, whyche shyll remayneth, and hathe abyden alwaye entiere and cleane, the resydewe that was therto knytte and adioyned, and late semed for the tyme deade or byreste from the mynd, is renuued, and (as it were) retournedhome agayne, it is than had for redeemed or restored, and is properly called Remembrance.

¶ This is the exposition of the noble physosopher, whyche I haue wryten, principally to the intent to ornate our language, with vsynge wordes in theyr propre sygnification. Wherof, what commoditie may ensue, all wyse men wyll (I doubt not) consyder.

¶ What is the true signification of vnderstandyng. Cap. xxiii.

For as moche as in the begynnyng of the fyrste boke of this warke, I endeuoured my selfe to proue, that by the order of mannes creation, preemynence in degree shulde be amonge men, accordynge as they do excelle in the pure influence of vnderstandynge, whyche can not be denyed to be the principall part of the sowle: somme reder perchaunce, mened with disdayne, wyll for that one assertion, immediately reiecte this warke, sayinge: that I am of a corrupt or folyshe opinion, supposyng that I do intende by the sayde wordes, that no man shuld gouerne or be in auctority, but onely he, whiche surmou-

surmounteth all other in doctrine, whyche is his hasty malyce he denieth, that I onely do meane, where I speake of vnderstandyng.

¶ I suppose all men do knowe, that man is made of body and soule, and that the sowle in preeminence excelleth the bodye, as moche as the mayster or owner excelleth the house, or the artifycer excelleth his instrumentes, or the kyng his subiectes: And therfore Salust in the conspiracy of Catilyne sayth: We vse specially the rule of the soule, and seruice of the body: the one we participate with goddis, the other with beastis. And Tulli saith: Mans soule, beinge decerpt or taken of the portion of diuinitie called Mens, may be cõpared with none other thig if a mã mought lefully speake it, but with god hym self.

Ci. tus. qu. lib. i.

¶ Also the noble dyuyne Chrisostomus, saith: The body was made for the soule, and not the soule for the body. Nowe it is to be further knowen, that the sowle is of three partes: the one, wherein is the power or efycacye of growing, which is also in herbes, and trees, as well as in man, and that parte is called vegetatike. An other part, wherein man dothe participate with all other thynges lyuyng, whyche is called sensitiue, by reson that therof the senses do proeede, whiche de distributed into diuers instrumentall partes of the body, as sight into the eien, hering to the eares, smelyng to the nose, tastyng to the mouthe, feleyng to euery part of the body

Chrisosto. de reparatione lapsi.

wherin

wherin is bloude, without the whiche vndoubtedly may be no feleyng. The thyrd part of the soule is named the parte intellectuall or of vnderstandynge, whiche is of all the other mooste noble, as wherby man is mooste like vnto god and is preferred before al other creatures. For where other beastes by theyr sences do feele, what thyng do profitte them, and what dothe annoy them: onely man vnderstandeth, wherof the sayde contrarye dispositions do come, and by what meanes they do eyther helpe or annoy: also he perceyueth the causes of the same thynge, and knoweth howe to resyste, where and whan nede dothe requyre: and with reason and crafte howe to gyue remedye: and also with labour and industry, to prouyde that thyng, which is holsome or profitable. This most pure parte of the soule, and (as Aristotelle sayethe) deuine, impassible, and incorruptible, is named in latine Intellectus, whervnto I can fynde no propre englysshe, but Vnderstandynge. For intelligence, whiche commeth of Intelligentia, is the perceiuyng of that, whiche is fyrst conceyued by vnderstandyng called Intellectus. Also intelligence is now vsed for an elegant worde, where there is mutuall treaties or appoyntementes, eyther by letters or message, specially concernyng warres, or lyke other greate affaires betwene princes or noble menne. Wherfore I wyll vse this worde vnderstandyng, for Intellectus, vntyll some

Arist. li. I. de anima.

other more proper englysshe worde maye be founden and broughte in custome. But to perceiue more playnly, what thyng it is, that I cal vnderstandyng, It is the principal part of the soule, which is occupied about the begynnyng or originall causes of thynges that may fall into mans knowlege: and his office is, before that anye thynge is attempted, to thinke, consider, and prepence, & after often tossyng it vp and downe in the mynde, to exercyse that power: the propertie wherof is to espie, seke for, enserche, and fynde oute: whiche vertue is referred to wyt, whiche is as it were the instrument of vnderstandyng. ¶ Moreouer, after the thinges be inuented, coniected, perceyued, and by longe tyme and often consydered, and that the mynde disposeth her selfe to execution or actual operatiō: than the vertue, named Prudence, fyrst putteth her selfe forwardes, and than appereth her industry and labour, for as moche as she teacheth, warneth, exhorteth, ordereth, & profiteth, lyke to a wyse capitayne, that setteth his host in arraye. And therfore it is to be remembred, that the office or duetie of vnderstandyng, precedeth the enterprise of actes, and is in the begynnynge of thynges. I call that begynnynge, wherin before any matter taken in hande, the mynde and thoughte is occupied, and that a man sercheth and douteth, whether it be to be entreprised, & by what waye, and in what tyme it is to be executed.

Who

Who by this lytell introduction, knowyng what vnderstandynge doth signifie, wyl not suppose, that he, whiche therin doth excel, is not with honour to be aduaunced? Than it foloweth not by this argumente, that for as moche as he that excelleth other in vnderstanding, shuld be preferred in honour, therfore no man shuld be preferred to honor, but only they that excel other in lernyng. No man hauing natural reason, though he neuer redde logyke, wyl iudge this to be a good argumente, consyderyng that vnderstandyng, called in latine Intellectus, and Mens, is by it selfe sufficient, & is not of any necessite annexed to doctrine, but doctrine procedeth of vnderstanding. But if doctrine be alway attendyng vpon vnderstandyng, as the daughter vpon the mother, vndoubtedly than vnderstanding must be the more perfect, & of a more efficacie, beyng increased by the inuentiõs and experiences of many other declared by doctrine, no one mã without inspiratiõ hauing knowlege of all thyng. I call Doctrine disciplyne intellectike, or lernyng, whiche is eyther in wrytynge or by reporte of thynges before knowen, whyche procedeth from one man to an other. That which I haue said, is in this wise confyrmed by Salomon, saying: A man that is wyse, by hearyng shal become wyser. And he that hath vnderstandynge, shall be a gouernour. Seneca sayth: We instructe our children in liberal sciences, not bycause those

Arist. ethi. l. v. posteriorũ. i. politice, li. i.

Prouer. i.

sciences may giue any vertue, because they prepare the mynd, and make it apt to receiue vertue. Whiche beynge considered, no man wyl deny, but that they be necessary to euery man, that coueyteth very nobilitie, whych as I haue often tymes sayde, is in the hauyng and vse of vertue. And verely in whom doctrine hath ben founden, ioyned with vertue, there vertue hath semed excellente, and as I mought saye triumphant.

¶ Scipio, common of the most noble houls of the Romaynes, in hyghe learnynge and knowlege of the nature of thynges wonderfull studyous, hauynge alwaye with him the most excellent philosophers and poetes that were in his time, was an exaumple and myrrour of martiall prowesse, continence, deuotion, liberalitie, and of all other vertues.

¶ Cato, called vticensis, named the chiefe pilar of the publike weale of the Romains, was so moche inflamed in the desire of learnyng, that (as Suetonius writeth) he coude not tempre him selfe in readyng greke bokes whyles the Senate was syttyng.

¶ Howe moche it profited to the noble Augustus, whiche vntyll the deathe of his vncle Julius Cesar, diligently applyed his studye in Athenes, it well appered after that the Ciuile warres were all fynished: whan he reformyng the hole astate of the publike weale, stablyshed the Senate, and takyng vnto him ten honorable personages, dayly in his owne

persone consulted with theym of matters, to be reported twise in a moneth to the Senat, in suche wyse aidyng and helping forth that moost noble counte with his incomparable study and diligence.

¶ The emperour Titus, sonne to Vaspasian, for his lernyng and vertue was named the delicate of the worlde.

¶ Marcus Antoninus, the emperour, was in euery kynde of learnyng so excellent, that he was therefore openly named the philosopher, not in reproche (as menne doo nowe a dayes in despite call theym philosophers and poetes, whom they perceyue studious in sondry good disciplines) but to the augmentation of his honoure. For beyng of his owne nature aptly inclyned to embrace vertue, he addynge to abundaunce of learnyng, became therby a wonderfull and perfecte prynce, beyng neyther of studye withdrawen frome affayres of the publyke weale, nor by any busynes vtterly plucked frome philosophye, and other noble doctrines. By the whyche mutuall coniunction and iuste temperaunce of those two studyes, he attayned to suche a fourme in all his gouernaunce, that he was named & taken for father of the senate, of the people, and vniuersally of al the hole empyre

¶ Moreouer, his dedes and wordes were of all men hadde in soo hyghe estimation and reuerence, that bothe the Senate and people tooke of him lawes and rules of their liuyng.

And in his gouernance and prouydyng, as well at home in his house, as in his ciuile busines, he was to hym selfe the onely lawe and example. And as he was aboue other highest in auctoritie, so by the vniuersall opinion of all men he was iuged to be of all other men, than kuyng, the best and also the wysest.

¶ Of Experience whyche haue preceded our tyme, with a defence of Hystories. Ca. xxiiii.

EXPERIENCE, wherof commeth wysedome, is in two maner of wyse: The oone is actes committed or done by other menne, wherof profytte or damage succedynge, we maye (in knowynge or beholdynge it) be therby instructed to apprehende the thyng, whyche to the publike weale, or to our owne persones, maye be commodious: and to eschue that thynge, whyche eyther in the begynnynge, or in the conclusyon appereth noysome and vycious. The knowlege of this Experience is called Exemple, and is expressed by hystorye, whyche of Tulli is called the lyfe of memory. And so it agreeth wel with the verses of Affranius, by me late declared. And therfore to suche persones, as doo contemne auncient hystoryes, reputyng theym amonge leasynges and fantasies (these be theyr wordes of reproche) it may be sayd, that they frustrate Experience: whyche

Titus Liuius in p. emio. li. i.

Hystoryes wherfore they be cõmendable.

whiche (as the sayd Tulli sayth) is the light of vertue, which they wold be sene so moche to sauour, although they do seldom embrace it. And that shall they perceyue manifestly, if they wyl a lyttel whyle lay a parte theyr accustomed obstinacie, & suffre to be distilled into their eares two or thre dropes of the swete oyle of remembraunce.

¶ Let them revolue in theyr myndes generally, that there is no doctrine, be it eyther diuine or humayne, that is not eyther all expressed in history, or at the lest mixte with hystory. But to thentent that there shal be lefte none ignoraunce, wherby they mought be detained in theyr errour, I wyll nowe declare vnto them what it is, that is called an historye, and what it comprehendeth.

Historye what it signifieth.

¶ Fyrste it is to be noted, that it is a greeke name, & cometh of a word or verbe in Greke Historeo, whiche doth signifie, to knowe, to se, to enserche, to enquere, to here, to lerne, to tell, or expounde vnto other. And than muste historie, whiche commeth therof, be wonderfull profitable, whiche leaueth nothyng hyd frome mannes knowledge, that vnto hym maye be eyther pleasaunt or necessary. For it not only reporteth the gestes or actes of princes or capitaynes, theyr counsayles and attemptates, enterpryses, affayres, maners in liuing good and bad, descriptions of regions and cyties with theyr inhabitantes: but also hit bryngeth to our knowleges, the formes of

londry publyke meales, with theyr augmentacions and decayes, and occasyon therof. Moreouer preceptes, exhortations, counsayles, and good persuasyons, comprehended in quycke sentences and eloquent orations. Finally so large is the compase of that whiche is named hystorie, that it comprehendeth all thyng that is necessary to be put in memory. In soo moche, as Aristotelle, where he declareth the partes of mannes bodye, with theyr description and offyces, and also the londrye formes and dispositions of al beastes, foules, and fishes, with their generation, nameth his booke an history. Semblably Theophrast his scholer, a noble philosopher, descryuyng all herbes and trees, wherof he mought haue the trewe knowledge, intytleth his booke, The historye of plantes. And finally Plini the elder, calleth his most excellent and wonderfull warke, the hystorye of nature: in the whiche booke he nothynge omytteth, that in the bosome of Nature is cõteyned, and may be by mannes wytte comprehended, and is worthye to be had in remembrance. Whiche auctorities of these three noble and excellente learned men, approueth the signification of Historye, to agree well with the exposition of the verbe Historeo, wherof it commeth.

¶ Nowe lette vs se what boke of holy scripture, I meane the olde testamente and the newe, maye be sayde, to haue no parte of hystorye. The fyue bokes of Moises, the boke

of

of Juges, the foure bokes of kynges, Job, Hester, Judith, Ruth, Thobias, And also the hystorie of Machabes (whyche from the other is separate) I suppose no manne wyll denye, but that they be all historicall: or (as I mought saye) intier historyes. Also Eldras, Nemias, Ezechiell, and Daniel, allthoughe they were prophetes: yet be their warkes cõpacte in fourme of narratiõs, whiche by oratours be called enunciatiue, & only perteineth to historyes, wherin is expressed a thing done, and persons named. All the other prophetes, thoughe they speake of the tyme future or to come, whiche is out of the description of an hystorye, yet eyther in rebukynge the synnes and enormities passed, or bewaylyng the destruction of theyr countrey, or captiuitie of the people, and suche lyke calamitie or miserable astate, also in mouyng or perswadyng the people, they do recite some circumstaunce of a narration.

¶ But nowe be we commen to the newe testamente, and principally the bookes of the Euangelistes, vulgarely called the gospelles, whiche be one contexte of an hystorie: do not they conteyne the temporall lyfe of our saiuiour Chryste, kynge of kynges, and lorde of the worlde, vntyll his glorious assention? And what thynge lacketh therin, that dothe perteyne to a perfecte hystorie? There lacketh not in thynges, ordre and disposition, in the contexte of narratiõ, veritie, in the sentences

gracitie, vtilitie in the conſayles, in the perſwacions doctrine, in expoſitions or declaracions facilitie. The bookes of actes of apoſtelles, what thynge is it elles but a playne hiſtory? The epiſtles of ſaincte Paule, ſainct Peter, ſaincte Johñ, ſainct James, and Judas, the apoſtles, doo conteyne counſayles and aduertiſementes in the fourme of oracions, reciting dyuers places as well oute of the olde teſtament, as out of the goſpels, as it were an abbreuiate, called of the grekes and latines Epitoma. This is wel knowen to be true, of them that haue hadde any leaſure to rede holy ſcripture: who remembryng thē ſelfes by this my litel induction, wyl leue to neglecte hiſtory, or contemne it with ſo general a diſprayſe as they haue ben accuſtomed.

¶ But yet, ſome wyll impugne them with a more particuler obiection, ſayinge: The hyſtories of the Grekes and Romaynes be nothynge but lyes, and fainyng of poetes: ſome ſuche perſones there be, betwene whom and good auctours hath euer ben perpetual hoſtilitie. Fyrſte howe do they knowe, that all the hyſtoryes of Grekes and Romaynes be leaſynges, ſens they fynde not, that any ſcripture autentyke, made about that tyme that thoſe hyſtories were wryten, doo reproue or contemne theym? But the mooſte catholyke and renoumed doctours of Chriſtis religion, in the corroboracio of theyr argumentes and ſentences doo allege the ſame hyſtoryes, and

vouche

vouche (as I moughte say) to theyr aide the auctoryte of the wrytars. And yet somme of those Rabines (in goddis name) whyche in comparison of the sayde noble doctours, be as who saythe petites, and vnneth lettred: wyll presume, with theyr owne sely wittes, to disproue that, whiche both by ancientie of time, & consent of blessed and noble doctours is allowed, and by theyr warkes honoured.

¶ If they wyll conjecte hystories to be lyes, bycause they some time make report of thinges sene, and actes doone, whiche do seme to the readers incredible: by the same reason may they not onely condempne all holy scripture, whiche conteyneth thinges more wonderful, than any hystorian wryteth, but also exclude credulitie vtterly from the company of man. For how many thinges be dayly sene, which beynge reported vnto hym that neuer sawe them, shulde seme impossible.

¶ And yf they wyll allege, that all thyng cõteined in holye scripture, is approbat by the hole consente of all the clergie of Chrystendome: at diuers general coũsayles assembled: Certes the same counsayles neuer disproued or reiected the hystories of greekes or Romaines, but the most catholyke and excellent learned men of those congregations, embraced their examples, and sowing them in their warkes, made of thẽ to the churche of Christ, a necessarye ornamente. Admytte, that some hystories be interlaced with lesynges: why

shoulde

Houlde we therfore neglecte theym: ſens the aſſayres there reported, nothynge concerneth vs, we beynge thereof no parteners, ne therby onely, maye receyue any damage. But yf by readyng the ſage counſayle of Neſtor, the ſubtylle perſuaſions of Ulilles, the compendious grauitie of Menelaus, the imperyall maieſtie of Agamemnon, the prowesſe of Achilles, and valiaunt courage of Hector, we maye apprehende any thyng, wherby our wyttes maye be amended, & our perſonages be more apte to ſerue our publyke weale and our prynce: what forceth it vs, thoughe Homere write leaſynges?

¶ I ſuppoſe no man thynketh, that Eſope wrate goſpels: yet who doubteth, but that in his fables, the fore, the hare, and the wolfe, thoughe they neuer ſpake, doo teache many good wyſedomes? whyche beyng welle conſydered, menne (yf they haue not auowed to repugne agaynſte reaſon) ſhall confeſſe with Quintilian, that fewe, and vneth oone maye be founde of auncient wryters, whyche ſhall not bryng to the rcdars ſome thyng commodious: And ſpecially they that do wryte maters hiſtorical, the leſſon wherof is as it were the myrrour of mans life, expreſſing actually and (as it were at the eyen) the beautie of vertue, and the deformytie and lothelynes of vice. Wherfore Lactantius ſaythe: Thou muſt nedes perylhe, yf thou knowe not, what is to thy lyfe profitable, that thou mayſt ſeke

for it:

for it: and what is daungerous, that thou maist flee and eschue it. Whiche I dare affirme may come soneste to passe by the reding of hystories, and reteinyng them in continual remembraunce.

¶ The Experience or practyse necessarye in the person of a gouernoue of a publyke weale. Cap. xxv.

The other experience, whiche is in oue propre personnes, and is of some men called practise, is no small moment or efficacie in the acquiryng of Sapience: in so moche that it semeth, that no operation or affayre may be perfecte, nor no science or arte complete, except experience be there vnto added, wherby knowlege is ratifyed, and (as I mought saye) consolidate.

¶ It is wrytten, that the greate kynge Alexander, on a tyme beynge (as it hapned) vnoccupied, came to the shop of Apelles, the excellent paynter, and standyng by him, whiles he paynted, raisoned with him of lines, adumbrations, proportions, and other like thinges pertaynyng to imagery, whyche the paynter a lytell whyles sufferyng, at the last sayde to the kyng, with countenance al smiling: Seest thou noble prince, howe the boye, that grynndeth my colours, dothe laughe the to scorne? whiche wordes the kyng toke in good parte, and helde hym therwith iustely corrected con-

sideryng

lyderyng by his own office in martiall affaires, that he than had in hande, howe greate a portion of knowlege faileth, where lacketh experience. And therin gouernours shall nat disdayn to be resembled vnto phisitions, cõsideryng theyr offyces in curynge and preseruyng, be most lyke of any other.

¶ That part of phisyke, called Rationall, wherby is declared the faculties or powers of the body, the causes, accidentes, and tokens of syckenesses, can nat always be sure, without some experience in the temperature or distemperature of the regyons, in the disposition of the paciente, in diete, concoction, quietnesse, exercise, and sleepe. And Galene, prince of phisitiõs, exhorteth them, to know exactly the accustomed diete of theyr pacientes, whiche can nat happen without moche resort into theyr companies, seriously noting theyr vsage in dyete. Semblably the vniuersall state of a countraye or citie, maye be well lykened to the body of man. Wherfore the gouernours, in the steede of physitions, attendyng on theyr cure, ought to know the causes of the decay of theyr publyke weale, whyche is the healthe of theyr countrey or citie, and than with expedition to procede to the most spedy and sure remedy. But certes the verye cause of decaye, ne the trewe meane to cure it, maye neuer be sufficientely knowen of gouernours, excepte they theymselues wyll personally resorte and perse all

partes

partes of the countreyes, vnder theyr gouernaunce, & inserche diligentely, as well what be the customes & maners of people good and bad, as also the cõmodities and discommodities: how the one may be preserued, the other suppressed, or at the leaste wayes amended.

¶ Also among them that haue ministration or execution of Justice (whiche I maye lyken vnto the membres) to tast and fele, howe euery of them doo practise theyr offices, that is to saye, whether they do it febly or vnprofitably, and whether it happen by negligence, discourage, corruption, or affection.

¶ But nowe may the reder with good reason demaunde of me, by what maner experience, the gouernours may come to the true knowlege herof. That shall I nowe declare.

¶ Fyrst the gouernours theym selfes, adorned with vertue, beyng in suche wyse an example of liuyng to theyr inferiours, and makyng the people iudges of theym and theyr domestical seruauntes and adherentes, shuld sondry times duryng theyr gouernaunce, eyther purposely, or by waye of solace, repayre into dyuers partes of theyr iurisdiction or prouince, & makyng their abode, shall partely them selfes attentifely here, what is cõmonly or priuately spoken, concernyng the astate of the countrey or personnes, partely shal cause their seruantes or frendes, of whose honestie and trouthe they haue good assuraunce, to resorte, in disportyng theym selfes in dyuers

townes

townes and villages, and as they happen to be in company with the inhabitauntes, priuily and with some maner of circumstaunce, enquire, what menne of hauoue dwelle nygh vnto them, what is the forme of their liuing, of what estimation they be in iustice, liberalitie, diligence in executyng the lawes, and other semblable vertues. Contrariwise, whether they be oppressours, couetous menne, mayntenours of offendours, remisse or negligent, if they be officers. And what the examiners doo here the greater nombre of people repoxte, that they entierly and truely denounce it to the sayd gouernour: by the whiche intimation, and their owne prudent endeuour, they shall haue infallible knowlege, who among the inhabitauntes be menne toward the publike weale best disposed. Them shall they call for, and mooste courtaisely entertayne, and (as it were) louyngely embrace, with thankes for theyr good wyll and endeuour towarde the publyke weale, commendyng theym openly for theyr vertue and diligence: offring to them their assistence in their semblable doynges, & also theyr furtherance toward the due recōpence of theyr trauailes.

¶ On the contrary parte, whan they se any of theym, who amonge theyr inferiours, obserue not Justyce, and lyke wyse offycers, whiche be remisse, or fauourable to common offendours and brekers of lawes, and negligent in the execution of theyr auctorytie, to

them

them shal they gyue condigne reprehentions, manifestyng their defautes, in omittyng their duetyes, and in giuing euyl example to theyr cõpanions, also boldnes to trãsgresse & to cõtẽne the lawes. Declaring also, that they ministryg such occasiõ, deserue not only a sharp rebuke, but also right greuous punishment. ¶ And if he, that thus admonisheth, be a soueraín gouernor or prince, & shortly herevpõ doth ratify his wordes, by expelling some of them, which I now rehersed, from their offices, or otherwise sharpely correctinge them, and contrarywise aduauncyng higher some good man, and whome he hath proued to be diligẽt in the execution of iustice, vndoutedly he shall inflame the appetite and zeale of good ministers, and also suscitate or reise the courage of al men, inclined to vertue, so, that there shal neuer lacke men apt and propise to be set in auctorities. Where the merites of mẽ be hid and vnknowen to the soueraigne gouernour, and the negligent ministers or inferior gouernors haue not only equal thank or rewarde, but perchãce moch more than they, which be diligent, or wold be, if they mought haue assistence, there vndoutedly is greuous discorage, and peril of conscience: forasmoch as they omyt ostentimes their duetyes and offices, reputing it great foly and madnes, to acquire by the executing of Iustice, not only an opinion of tyrãny amõg the people, & consequently hatred, but also malignitie among his equals & superiors, with a note of ambitiõ.

¶ This reuolued and considered by a cyrcũspect gouernour, lorde god, how shortly, and with howe lyttell difficultie, shall he dispose the publike weale that is greued, to receyue medicine, wherby it shoulde be soone healed and reduced to his perfection.

¶ Of detraction, and the ymage therof made by the peynter Appelles. Cap. xxvi.

There is moche conuersaunt amonge men in auctority a vyce very vgly and monstruous, who vnder the pleasant habite of frendshyp and good coũsaile, with a breath pestilenciall infecteth the wyttes of them that nothyng mistrusteth. This mõster is called in englische Detraction, in latin Calumnia, whose propriety I wyl now declare. ¶ If a man, be determined to equity, hauing the eyen and eares of his mynde, set only on the trouth, and the publike weale of his coũtrey, wyl haue no regard to any request or desyre, but proceedeth directly in the administration of iustice, either he, whiche by iustice is offended, or some his fautours, abbettours, or adherentes, if he hym selfe, or any of them be in seruice or familiaritie with him that is in auctoritie, as sone as by any occasion, mẽtion hapneth to be made of him, who hath executed iustice exactly, forthwith they imagin some vice or defaut, be it neuer so lytel, wherby they may myniche his credence, and craftely

ly omitting to speake any thinge of his ry-
gour in Justice, wyll note and touche some
thing of his maners, wherin shal either seme
to be lyghtnes, or lacke of grauitie, or to moch
lowernesse or lacke of Cimilytie: or that he
is nat beneuolent to him in auctoritie, or that
he is nat sufficient to receiue any dignitie, or
to dispatche matters of weighty importance
or that he is superfluous in wordes, or els to
scarse. Also if he liue temperately, and dely-
teth moche in study, they imbrayd hym with
nygardship, or in derision, call him a clerke or
a poete, vnmete for any other purpose. And
this do they couertly and with a more graui-
tie, thā any other thyng that they enterprise.

¶ This euyll report, called Detractiō, was wonderfully well expressed in figures, by the most noble peynter Apelles. After he was dis-
charged of the crymc, wherof he was falsly accused to Ptholomee, king of Egypt, hauing for his amēdes of the said king. xii. My. pounds sterling, and his accuser to his bond man perpetually, the table, wherin detractiō was expressed, he peynted in this forme.

The ymage of detractiō

¶ At the right hande was made, sittynge a man, hauyng long eares, puttinge forth his hande to Detraction, who farre of came to-
wardes him. About this man stode two wo-
men, that is to say, ignorance, and suspicion. On the other side came Detraction, a womā aboue measure well trymmed, all chafed and angry, hauynge her aspecte or looke lyke to

the fyre, in shewing a maner of rage or fury In her left hande, she helde a brenning torche or bronde, & with her other hand, she drew by the heer of his head, a yong mã, who held vp his handes towarde heuen, callyng god & the sayntes for wytnesse: with her came a man pale, and euyl fauoured, beholding the yong man intentikely, like vnto one that had bene with lõge sikenes consumed, whõ ye mought lightly coniecte, to be enuy. Also there folowed two other women, that trymmed and aparayled Detraction, the one was Treson, the other Fraude. After folowed a woman, in a mourning wede, blacke and ragged, and she was called Repentance, who tournynge her backe, weping and sooze ashamed, beheld Veritie, who than approched.

¶ In this wyse Apelles described Detraction, by whome he hym selfe was in perylon, by whome he hym selfe was in perylon. Which in myne opinion is a right necessary matter to be in tables or hanginges, set in euery mans house that is in auctoritie, consydering what damage and losse hath ensued, and may hereafter ensue, by this horrible pestilence, false Detraction, to the auoydynge wherof, Luciane, who writeth of this pycture, gyueth a notable counsayle, saying:

¶ A wyse man, whan he douteth of the honesty and vertue of the person accused, shuld kepe close his eares, and nat open theym hastily to them, whiche be with this sychenes infected, and put Reson for a diligent porter and watche, which ought to examine and let in

in the reportes that be good, and exclude and prohibite them that be contrary. For it is a thynge to laugh at, and very vnlyttyng, to ordeyne for thy house a keper or porter: and to leaue thine eares and mind to all men wide open. Wherfore, whan any persone cometh to vs, to tel vs any report or cõplaint: Firste it shall behoue vs throughely and euenly to consyder the thyng, not hauing respect to the eares of hym that reporteth, or to his forme of lyuing, or wysedome in speaking. For the more vehemẽt the reporter is in perswading, the more diligent and exacte triall and examination ought to be vsed. Therfore truste is not to be gyuen to an other mans iugement, moche lesse to the malice of an accuser. But euery man shal reteyn to him self the power, to enserche out the trouth, and leyng the enuy or displeasure to the detractou., shall ponder or way the matter indifferently, that euery thing, in suche wise being curiously inserched and proued, he may at his pleasure eyther loue or hate hym, whom he hath so substancially tried. For in good faithe, to gyue place to detraction at the begynnynge, is a thyng chyldisshe and base, and to be esteemed amonge the moste great inconueniences and myschiefes. These be well nygh the wordes of Luciane: whether the counsayle be good, I remyt it to the wyse readers. Of one thyng I am sure, that by Detraction, as well many good wyttes haue bene drowned, as also vertue and peynfull study vnrewarded, and

many zelatours or fauourers of the publike weale, haue ben discouraged.

¶ Of consultation and counsayle, and in what forme they ought to be vsed in a publike weale. Cap. xxvii.

THe griefes or dyseases, which of Aristotle, be called the decayes of the publyke weale, being inuestigate, examined, and tried by the experiẽce before expressed, than cometh the time and opportunitie of consultation: wherby, as I sayd, is prouyded the remedies moste necessary for the healing of the said grefis, or reparatiõ of decays

Cõsultatiõ

¶ This thyng that is called Consultation, is the generall denomination of the act, wher in men do deuyse togyther, and reason, what

Counsayl.

is to be done. Counsayl is the sentence or aduise particularly giuẽ by euery man for that purpose assembled. Cõsultation hath respect to the tyme future or to come, that is to saye, the endꝛ or purpose therof is adressed to some act or affayre, to be practised after theyr consultation. And yet be not all other tymes excluded, but fyrst the state of thinges present, ought to be examyned, the power, assistence, and substance to be estemid, sẽblably thinges passed, with moch and longe deliberation, to be reuolued & tossed in the mynd, and to be cõferred with them that be present, and beinge exactly waied the one against the other, than to inuestigate or enquyre exquisitly, the forme

and

and reason of the affayre, and in that study to be resolued so effectually, that they which be coũsayllours, may beare with them out of the counsayle house, as it were on their shulders, not onely what is to be folowed and exploited, but also by what meanes or ways it shal be pursued, and howe the affaire may be honorable, also what is expedient, and of necessitie, and howe moche is nedefull, and what space and length of tyme, and fynally howe the enterprise, being acheued & brought to effect, may be kept and retcined. For ofte times, after exploitures, happeth occasions, either by assautes, or other incumbrances of enemies, or of to moche trust in fortunes assurãce, or by disobedience or presumption of some psons, whom the thinge toucheth, that this last part of Consultation is omitted, or more rather neglected: where moch study, trauaile, & cost haue vtterly perished, not only to the great detrimẽt of infinite psons, but also to the subuertiõ of most noble publik weales

¶ Moreouer, it is to be diligẽtly noted, that euery counsaylle is to be approued by three thynges principallye, that it be ryghtwyse, that it be good, & that it stande with honesty. That whiche is rightwise, is brought in by reson. For nothig is right, that is not ordred by reson. Goodnes cometh of vertue, of vertue & reson proceedeth honesty. wherfore coũsayle, beinge compacte of these thre, mayt be named a perfecte Capytayne, a trusty compayon, & playne and vnfayned frende.

Counsayle proued by iii. thinges.

Titus Liuius.li.xv.

Therfore in cõmendation therof, Titus Liuius sayethe: Many thynges be impeched or let by nature, whyche by counsaile be shortly atcheued. And verily the power of counsaile is wonderfull, hauing auctorite as well ouer peace as martiall enterpryse. And therefore with good reson Tulli affirmeth in his boke of offices, armes without the doores be of lyttell importance, if coũsaile be not at home. And he sayth soone after: In thynges moste prosperous, the counsaile of frendes muste bevsed. Whyche is ratified by the auctour of the noble warke named Ecclesiasticus, sayinge: My sonne, without counsayle se thou doo nothynge, and than after thy deede thou shalte neuer repente the. The same auctour gyueth thre noble preceptes concernyng this matter, whyche of euery wise man ought to be had in contynuall memory.

Ecclesiast. xxxii.

Ecclesiasticus.viii.

¶Of foles take thou no counsayl, for they can loue nothing, but that pleaseth them selues. Discouer not thy coũsayl before a stranger: for thou knowest not what therof may happen. Unto euerye man disclose not thy hart, lest paueture he wyl gyue to the a feined thanke, & after report rebukefully of the. ¶Fooles (as I suppose) be they, whiche be more ladde with affection than reason. And whom he calleth strãgers, be those, of whose fidelitie and wisedom he is not assured: and in the general name of euery man, may be signified the lacke of election of counsailours, whiche wolde be with a vigilant serche, and

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(as I mought say) of al other moste scrupulous.

¶ What in consultation is to be chiefly considred. Ca. xxviii.

Counsaile.

THe ende of all doctrine and studye, is good counsail, wherunto as vnto the principall point, which geometriciens do cal the Centre (whiche by some authors be imagined in the forme of a cerkle) all doctrines do sende theyr effectes lyke vnto equall lines, as it shall appere to theym that wyll rede the bokes of the noble Plato, where he shall fynde, that the wyse Socrates, in euery inuestigation, whiche is in fourme of a consultation, vseth his perswasions and demõstrations by the certaine rules and examples of sundry sciences, prouyng therby that the conclusion, and (as I mought say) the perfection of them, is in good counsayle, wherein vertue may be founden, beinge (as it were) his propre mantion or palaice, where her power onely appereth, concernyng gouernãce, eyther of one person only, and than it is called morall, or of a multitude, which for a diuersitie may be called politike. Wens counsayle is of suche an efficacye, and in thynges concernynge man hath suche a preeminence, It is therfore expedient, that consultation (wherin counsayle is expressed) be very serious, substanciall, and profitable. Whyche to bryng to effecte, requyreth two thynges principally to be consydered,

Fyrst

Cõsiderations of coũcayle.

Coũsellers Sal bell. Catilinc.

Coũsellers many.

¶ Fyrste, that in euerye thynge, concernyng a publyke weale, no good counsaylour be omytted or passed ouer, but that his reason therin, be harde to an ende. I call him a good counsaylour, whiche (as Cesar saythe) in the conturation of Cataline, whyles he consulteth in doubtful matters, is voyde of al hate, frendshyppe, displeasure, or pitie. Howe necessary to a publike weale it shall be, to haue in any wise, mens oppinions declared, it is manifest to theym, that do remembre, that in many heades be dyuers maners of wyttes, some inclined to sharpnes and rigour, many to pitie & compassion, diuers to attemperaunce and meane betwene bothe extremities, some haue respect to tranquillitie only, other, more to welthe and commoditie, dyuers to moche renoume and estimatiõ in honour. There be, that wyll speake all theyr mynde sodeynely, and perchaunce ryghte well. Diuers requyre to haue respecte and study, wherin is moche more suertie, many wyll speake warely, for feare of displesure, some more bolder in vertue, wyll not spare, to shewe theyr mindes playnely, diuers wyll assent to that reasons, wherwith they suppose, that he, whyche is chiefe in auctoritie, wyl be best plesed. These vndoubtedly be the dyuersities of wyttes. And moreouer, where there is a great noumbre of counsaylours, they all beynge heardc, nedes must the counsaile be the more perfect. For sometyme perchance one of them, whiche

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in doctrine, wyt, or experience is in least estimation, maye hap to expresse some sentence more auayable to the purpose, wherin they consulte, than any that before came to the others remembraūces. No one man is of such perfection, that he can haue in an instant remembraunce of all thynge. Whiche I suppose was considered by Romulus, the fyrste kyng of Romaines, in the fyrste constitution of theyr publyke weale. For hauyng of his owne people but thre thousand fote men, and thre hundrede horsemen, he chase of the eldest and wisest of them all, one hundred counsaylours. But to the more assertyon of dyuers mens sentences, I wyll declare a notable experience, whiche I late hapned to rede. Dionis. Halicarnasseꝰ.

¶ Belinger Baldasine, a man of great wit, singuler lernyng, & excellent wisedom (Who was one of the counsailours to Ferdinando, king of Arogon) whan any thing doubtfull, or weyghty matter was consulted of, where he was present, afterward whan he had soupped at home in his house, he wolde cal before him all his seruantes: & merely purposing to theym some feynedquestion or fable, wherin was craftely hyd, the matter, whiche remained doubtefull, wolde merely demaunde of euery man his particuler oppinion, and gyuyng good eare to theyr iudgementes, wolde conferre togyther euerye mans sentence, and with good deliberation ponderyng their value, he at the laste perceyued, whiche was the

truest and most apte to his purpose: and be-
ing in this wyse furnished, translatynge ta-
pes and thynges fayned to matter serious y
true, he amonge the kynges counsaylours, in
gyuynge good and substanciall aduyse, had
alway preemuncnce. Howe moche cõmodity
that suppose ye mought be taken of the sen-
tences of many wyse and experte counsay-
lours? And lyke as Calchas, as Homer wri-
teth, knewe by diuination thynges present,
thynges to come, and theym that were pas-
sed, so counsailours garnished with lerning,
and also experience, shall therby consyder,
the places, tymes, and personages, examy-
nynge the state of the matter, than practy-
sed, and expendyng the power, assistence, and
substance, also reuoluyng longe and oftenty-
mes in theyr myndes, thynges that be passed
and conferrynge theym to the matters that
be than in experience, studiously do seeke out
the reason and maner, howe that, whiche is
by them approued, may be brought to effect.
And suche mennes resons wold be through-
ly heard, and at length: For the wyser that
a man is, in taryenge his wysedome increa-
seth, his reason is more lyuely, and quycke
sentence aboundeth. And to the more parte
of menne, whan they be chauked in reaso-
nynge, argumentes, solutions, exaumples,
symylytudes, and experymentes doo re-
sorte, and (as it were) flowe vnto theyr re-
membraunces.

Homerus Iliad. pri.

The

¶ The seconde consyderation to be had in consultation. Cap. xxix.

The seconde consyderation is, that the generall and vniuersall astate of the publyke weale, wolde be preferred in consultation, before any particular cõmoditie: and the profite or damage, whiche may happen within our owne countreys, wolde be more considred, than that, whyche maye happen from other regions: which to beleue, cõmune reason and experyence leadeth vs. Generall thinges before particuler.

For who commendeth those gardiners, that wyll put all theyr dilygence in trymmynge or keepynge delycately one knotte or bedde of herbes, suffrynge all the remenant of theyr gardeyne to be subuerted with a great numbre of molles, and to attende at no tyme for the takynge and dystroyeng of theym vntyll the herbes, wherein they haue employed all theyr labours, be also tourned vp and perished, and the molles increased in soo infinite numbres, that no industrye or labour, maye suffise to consume them: wherby the labour is frustrate, and all the gardeyne made vnprofytable, and also vnpleasant. In this similytude to the gardeyne maye be resembled the publyke weale, to the gardyners, the gouernours and counsaylours, to the knottes or beddes, sundry degrees of personages, to the molles, byrds, and sundry enormities. Wherfore the consultation is but of a small

small

effecte, wherin the vniuersal astate of the publyke weale doth not occupie the moze parte of the tyme, and in that generaltie euery particular astate, be not diligently ordered. Foz as Tulli saith: They that consulte foz parte of the people, and neglecte the residue, they bzyng into the cittie oz countrey a thyng most pernitious, that is to saye, sedition and discozde. Wherof it hapned, that some wil seme to fauour the multitude, other be inclined to leane to the beste sozte, fewe do studye foz all vniuersally. Whiche hath benne the cause, that not onely Athenes (whiche Tulli dothe name) but also the Cytie of empire of Rome, with dyuers other cyties and realmes, haue decayed and ben finally bzoughte in extreme desolation.

Ci.off.li.i.

¶ Also Plato, in his booke of Foztitude, sayth in the persone of Socrates: Whan so euer a man seketh a thynge, foz cause of an other thynge, the consultation oughte to be alwaye of that thynge, foz whose cause the other thynge is sought foz, and not of that, whyche is soughte foz bycause of the other thyng. And surely, wyse menne do consider, that damage often tymes hapneth, by abusynge the due fourme of consultation: menne lyke euyll Physitions, seekyng foz medicines, er they perfectely knowe the sicknesses: and as yuel marchauntes do vtter fyzste the wares and commodities of straungers, whyles straungers be robbyng of their owne cofers.

Plato in Iachete.

¶ Therfoze

¶ Therfore these thynges, that I haue rehersed, concernyng consultation, ought to be of all men in auctorite substancially pondered and most diligantly obserued, if they intende to be to theyr publike weale profitable: for the whiche purpose onely, they be called to be gouernours.

¶ And thus I conclude, to wryte any more of consultation, which is the last part of morall sapience, and the begynnynge of sapyence polityke.

¶ Nowe all ye readers, that desyre to haue your chyldren to be gouernours, or in any other auctorite in the publyke weale of youre cuntrey, yf ye bring them vp, & instructe them in suche fourme, as in this boke is declared, they shall than seme to all men, worthy to be in auctorite, honour, and nobleneſſe. And all that is vnder theyr gouernance shall prosper and come to perfection, and as a precious stone in a riche ouche, they shalbe beholden and wondred at, and after the deth of their body, their soules for theyr endeuour, shalbe incomparably rewarded of the gyuer of wysedome, to whom onely be gyuen eternall glory. Amen.

FINIS.

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